

Transnational Islamic Charities
The Role of International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi
Arabia in Pakistan

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From the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Erfurt

Supervisor: Prof. Jamal Malik
(University of Erfurt)

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Hike Grimm
(University of Erfurt)

Ishrat Afshan Abbasi

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to explore the role and performance of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia (IIROSA) in Pakistan regarding its social development and humanitarian assistance policy in the 9/11 era. Furthermore, it explains the opinion and stand of IIROSA regarding religious radicalization and the strategies taken to invalidate the allegations of being a radical organisation. In this context, this research elaborates the measures IIROSA has taken to control their financial management system and the steps it is taking to avoid radical and extremist trends in religious activities. The major contribution of the study is that it addresses the lack of research on Transnational Islamic Charities in the context of development initiatives. This research deals with the qualitative approach to empirical study. Data collection followed four techniques: document analysis, observation, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The main participants of the empirical study were stakeholders of IIROSA in Pakistan including administration, workers and beneficiaries of projects.

Employing Social Movement Theory, this thesis, emphasises the identity of Transnational Islamic Charities as social actors/Islamic social institutes. It argues that as social actors, Islamic charities are focused on social and humanitarian programmes with regard to the Islamic interpretations of human welfare quoting the *Quran* and *Hadith*. Additionally, this study, by elaborating the religion and development of a nexus framework, explores and examines the role of religion in development in relation to the particular social setup of Islam for socio-economic benefits and welfare of human beings. It proposes that religion still has an importance in the development sector as demonstrated by the existence of faith-based aid organisations and how they are attempting to design their activities in the pattern of mainstream development organisations.

This thesis explores activities of IIROSA in Pakistan regarding the orphans' programme, educational activities, health care initiatives and disaster relief projects. All these effective programmes closely mirror the pattern and principles of mainstream development organisations throughout the world. However, with regard to girls' education and women's empowerment, IIROSA needs to take more assertive measures to strengthen its social development programme. IIROSA is determined to maintain its

position and membership in the United Nations and other international organisations. In the aftermath of the 9/11 events, it had to face allegations and consequences when accused of being a radical organisation. The outcome was that IIROSA had to be more sensitive regarding matters of religious radicalization. In order to remove the stigma associated with religious radicalization; this organisation is attempting to improve its work and standing in the hope that it will be recognised world-wide as a humanitarian, impartial and neutral relief organisation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT.....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	4
INTRODUCTION	7
SECTION I: Reviewing Transnational Islamic Charities	16
Chapter 1: Transnational Islamic Charities in the Twentieth Century	17
1.1. Introduction.....	17
1.2. The Emergence of Transnational Islamic Charities.....	17
1.3. Factors and Events Responsible for the Emergence of Transnational Islamic Charities	27
1.4. Summary	39
Chapter 2: Religious Determinants of Transnational Islamic Charities	41
2.1. Introduction.....	41
2.2. The Idea of Faith in Faith-based Organisations.....	41
2.3. Charity in Islam and Its Use for Transnational Islamic Charities.....	44
2.4. Summary.....	59
SECTIONII: Conceptual Frameworks.....	61
Chapter 3: Transnational Islamic Charities within the Framework of Social Movement Theory.....	62
3.1. Introduction.....	62
3.2. The Framework of Social Movement Theory.....	63
3.3. Social Movement Theory to Transnational Islamic Charities	68
3.4. Summary	75
Chapter 4: Religion and the Social Development Nexus.....	76
4.1. Introduction.....	76
4.2. Defining and Conceptualizing Religion	76
4.3. Defining Social Development.....	77
4.4. Bond between Religion and Sociology.....	79
4.5. Faith-Based Organisations in the Social Development Sector	81
4.6. Islam and the Social Development Nexus	85
4.7. Role of Islamic Charities as Development Organisations	89
4.8. Summary.....	91

Section III: Role of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia in Pakistan	93
Chapter 5: Research Methodology.....	94
5.1. Introduction.....	94
5.2. Epistemological Stance.....	94
5.3. Research Paradigm and Approach.....	96
5.3. Research Design	97
5.3. Sampling	100
5.5. Data Collection	101
5.6. Ethical Consideration.....	106
5.7. Summary.....	108
Chapter 6: An Overview of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia	109
6.1. Introduction.....	109
6.2. IIROSA as a Transnational Islamic Charity	109
6.4. Social Mobilization of IIROSA Jeddah	111
6.4. Political Process of IIROSA	116
6.5. Summary.....	122
Chapter 7: Social Development Contributions of IIROSA to Pakistan	123
7.1. Introduction.....	123
7.2. Orphan Projects.....	124
7.3. Education Projects	144
7.4. Health Care Programme.....	152
7.5. Water Resources Project.....	159
7.6. Summary.....	160
Chapter 8: Humanitarian Assistance of IIROSA to Pakistan	162
8.1. Introduction.....	162
8.2. Conceptualizing “Humanitarian Assistance”	163
8.3. Humanitarian Assistance Projects	166
8.4. Seasonal Projects	175
8.5. Summary.....	178
Chapter 9: IIROSA Islamabad vis-à-vis Religious Radicalization	180
9.1. Introduction.....	180
9.2. Allegations of Religious Radicalization against Islamic Charities.....	180
9.3. The Funding and the Financial Management System of IIROSA Islamabad.....	183
9.4. Construction of Mosques Project.....	187

9.5. Summary	195
Conclusion	197
Bibliography	207
APPENDIX: TABLES.....	228
<i>Table 1: Membership of IIROSA in the International and Regional Organisations</i>	<i>228</i>
<i>Source:</i>	
<i>https://web.archive.org/web/20161220060415/http://www.egatha.org/eportal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12&Itemid=4.....</i>	<i>229</i>
<i>Table 2: International Cooperation and Partnerships of IIROSA</i>	<i>229</i>
<i>Source:</i>	
<i>https://web.archive.org/web/20161220060415/http://www.egatha.org/eportal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12&Itemid=4.....</i>	<i>231</i>
<i>Table 3: IIROSA's Interventions/Activities in Region-wise Countries</i>	<i>232</i>
<i>Table 4: Number of Registered and Beneficiaries orphans.....</i>	<i>233</i>
<i>Table 5: Relief Goods Distributed by IIRSOA, Islamabad in the Earthquake 2005</i>	<i>234</i>
<i>Table 6: Tent Villages Organised by IIROSA Islamabad in the Earthquake 2005</i>	<i>235</i>
<i>Table 7: Emergency Relief of IIROSA Islamabad in 2006 to the victims of Earthquake 2005</i>	<i>236</i>
<i>Table 8: Emergency Relief of IIROSA Islamabad in August 2007 against the Cyclone Yemini and floods in Pakistan</i>	<i>238</i>
<i>Table 9: Emergency Relief and Beneficiaries in November 2007 against Cyclone Yemini and Floods in Pakistan</i>	<i>239</i>
<i>Table 10: Province-wise Beneficiaries of Emergency Relief During Flood 2010</i>	<i>241</i>
<i>Table 11: Emergency Relief for the Victims of Flood-2011</i>	<i>242</i>
<i>Table 12: Distribution of Food and Daily Use Items in Bajur 2008.....</i>	<i>242</i>
<i>Table 13: Detailed Distribution Plan to IDPs 2009-2010</i>	<i>243</i>
<i>Table 14: Food Item Distribution under Iftar al-Saim Project 2003-2013</i>	<i>244</i>
<i>Table 15: Qurbani Provided Available at IIROSA Islamabad (2003-2012)</i>	<i>245</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHIF	Al-Haramain International Foundation
AJK	Azad Jammu & Kashmir
BIF	Benevolence International Foundation
CIA	Central Investigation Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
DG	Director General
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ERCS	Emirates Red Crescent Society
ERRA	Earthquake Reconstruction & Rehabilitation Authority
EU	European Union
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FBOs	Faith-Based Organisations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GRF	Global Relief Foundation
HIV	Human Infection Virus
IB	Intelligence Bureau
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IICO	International Islamic Charity Organisation
IIROSA	International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia
IJT	<i>Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba/Talibaat</i>

INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
ISESCO	Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
ISI	Inter-services Intelligence
ISIs	Islamic Social Institutes
JI	<i>Jama't-e Islami</i>
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MB	Muslim Brotherhood
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MWL	Muslim World League
NDMA	National Disaster Management Authority
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPOs	Non-Profit Organisations
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OFAC	Office of Foreign Assets Control
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
POW	Prisoners of War
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory
SMOs	Social Movement Organisations
SMT	Social Movement Theory
SPAPEV	Saudi Public Assistance for Pakistan Earthquake Victims
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF	United Nation's International Children Emergency Fund
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
US	United States
WAMY	World Association of Muslim Youth
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation

INTRODUCTION

We need innovation in humanitarian and development actions. Humanitarian needs will shrink decisively when and where more sustainable development is achieved (Helen Clark 2015).

Posing the Problem

Over the last three decades, especially since 9/11, there has been an increase into research on Transnational Islamic Charities. Despite cumulative interest on this subject, much of the literature focuses on the political activities of Islamic charities. The existing literature often unravels the role of these charities as financial supporters of terrorism, or as resistance groups in the Islamic countries such as Afghanistan, Sudan and Palestine in favour of Muslims. Most of the literature on this subject attempt to investigate the violent actions committed by Islamists against humanity assisted or supported by these organisations. Islamic charities are often assumed to be conservative institutions which are engaged in the promotion of their own Islamic versions like *Salafi*¹, *Shiite*² or *Sufi*³ trends. Most of the work by these charities is associated with organisations whose Headquarters are in Muslim-majority countries including Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The literature explores the huge and complex role of Saudi Arabia in funding Islamic NGOs and formulates a critique as to whether this funding is used as a source of 'proselytization' (Burr & Collins 2006).

Another much debated and explored political perspective of the literature on this subject covers the US criticism and the post 9/11 restrictions levied against Islamic aid organisations. The literature reveals how US pressure and allegations began new international debate concerning the role of Islamic charities and how it forced the UN and other countries to revisit and reformulate rules and regulations for this aid group. Consequently, several Islamic aid organisations were blacklisted and shutdown and the

¹Salafi is a follower of Salafism, who believes in following Muhammad and his devout forerunners (usually the first three generations of Muslims).

²A Shiite is a Muslim who believes that after Mohammed his cousin cum son-in-law, Ali, was his legitimate successor as political and religious leader.

³A follower of Mystic branch within Islam is called Sufi

headquartered countries revised the regulations for charities creating a new set of standards which were compatible for the standards of international community (Alterman 2007).

One more strand of literature on Islamic charities narrates the ideologies and culture of the aid practised by these organisations describing perceptions, what is imagined and interpretations of all Islamic aid organisations, based in Middle East and West. This can be summarised by saying that the motivation is *Quran*⁴ and *Hadith*⁵. The culture of aid is different and depends on regional influences. This includes a specific bundle of ideas, values, traditions, practices and structures arising or growing from certain historical and regional affiliations. The literature argues that these linkages diversify Islamic charities into two separate aid cultures; Western Islamic charities and Middle Eastern Islamic charities. Accordingly, each of them is endorsing a separate understanding of aid and influences of religion in their structure and activities (Petersen 2011).

The tendency to study the Islamic charities as faith-based organisations engaged in Islamic resurgence or facilitators of Islamic militancy has neglected the development and relief work of these organisations. These organisations are engaged in humanitarian aid missions, but their role in the contemporary aid field has not been extensively explored through empirical research work. The existing literature on Islamic charities rarely address these questions: How these organisations merge their religious identity with the concept of aid? What is interconnection between religion and development work? This perspective invites a focus on activities and broader processes of development and humanitarian work by Islamic charities. Such questions require qualitative and micro-sociological research of individual transnational Islamic charities providing a dense narrative of discourses and functions of these charities.

Purpose of the Study

This research is based on in-depth, empirical case study of one charity organisation; The International Islamic Relief Organisational of Saudi Arabia

⁴Quran is a religious text of Islam; which Muslims believe was revealed from God to his last prophet with the assistance of an angel.

⁵Hadith is an Arabic term; it is used for the collection sayings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad valued and received as a significant mean of Islamic law and ethical guidance.

(IIROSA). It focuses on the role of IIROSA in the implementation of development programmes in Pakistan and discusses its organisational strengths and weaknesses in relation to different development objectives like social development and humanitarian assistance projects. Exploring the structure and strategy of social and humanitarian programmes of Transnational Islamic Charities, the thesis discovers the way in which IIROSA conceptualises and constructs the nexus between religion and aid.

This is the first and foremost attempt to ascertain how religious beliefs of IIROSA relate to development issues in the developing world, with reference to ideas, practices and experiences. Second, the organisation puts forward its activities in relation to development programmes. For that purpose, the acting organisation operates at the international level focusing primarily on development outcomes within developing countries. Intrinsically, this research is enormously explorative, destined to contribute with innovative empirical information to the study of transnational Islamic charities. More specifically, with reference to the case study of IIROSA the analysis turns on the following sets of questions:

- What is the nexus between religious identity and development ideology of Transnational Islamic charities?
- How does IIROSA Islamabad move in relation to the broader context of social development provision?
- How does IIROSA Islamabad works as a source of humanitarian assistance?
- What is the stance of IIROSA Islamabad against the allegations of religious radicalization in Pakistan and how does it justify its stand?

The purpose is to ascertain the role of IIROSA regarding social and humanitarian development and where its international standing lies and the coordination it has with the United Nations and other international organisations. Through this research, the writer intends to explore how by being a member of the international community IIROSA is contributing to social and humanitarian development. Also, the agendas it follows with regard to this connection, whether these are only religiously motivated programmes or additionally have some relevance to global development agendas.

It is an established fact that IIROSA is a faith-based organisation, therefore, it applies policies which are compatible with the interpretation of its faith. This research

attempts to explore how the faith aspect plays an important role in determining the development dynamics of IIROSA. How is it mobilising funds through faith-inspired incentives? Also, how IIROSA has responded to people's needs harbouring and imparting the same values systems in the Pakistani community. In doing so, how does it perform in delivering education, health welfare, disaster relief and achieving other progressive social changes in general.

Arguments of the Study

Countering the research questions delineated above, the thesis imparts some propositions and arguments. The thesis argues that the emergence of Transnational Islamic Charities is linked to the Islamic resurgence movements of the twentieth century. The movements were anti-colonial and anti-nationalism in nature. Their aims were to: 1) Act against the western influence of European colonial powers. 2) Challenge the oppressive policies of nationalist Arab rulers like Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein in Egypt. These resistant groups designed their political ideologies and combined them with the social ideology linked to humanitarian welfare programmes for common people and for the solidarity of *Ummah*⁶. By these means, initially the rise of Transnational Islamic Charities aimed at providing an Islamic structure of humanitarian welfare programmes covering all Islamic patterns for fundraising, fund distributing and development work (Mandaville 2001, p. 69). As Transnational Islamic Charities are the result of social mobilization, so theoretically the research is framed within Social Movement Theory. Applying Social Movement Theory, this research elaborates those social circumstances which elevated the Islamic mobilization in the twentieth century and the resultant political, cultural and social changes gave space to the Islamic aid system and the Transnational Islamic Charities which acted as carriers of that system (Clark 2004, pp. 5-6).

This thesis proposes a Religion-Development nexus to understand the growth and structure of Transnational Islamic Charities. This proposition argues that growth and work of International Islamic Charities are verified internationally and that the International community and its forums recognise the humanitarian aspect of religions. This means that the international community should collaboratively validate the function of faith-based organisations for development purposes especially in religious

⁶Ummah is an Arabic word meaning "community".

societies where secular organisations have difficulty approaching common people (Deneulin & Bano 2009, p.48). The religious affiliation makes these organisations different from mainstream development/secular organisations for certain reasons. First, the main fund generating sources of these organisations are those instructed in the *Quran* as voluntary and non-voluntary financial assistance mechanism like *zakat*⁷, *sadaqah*⁸ and *waqf*⁹, and these funds must be utilized for the charitable work as it is instructed in the *Quran* and *Hadith*. The incentive of charitable work is also religiously instructed such as validation of faith, fear of Allah, fear of punishment and achievement of rewards in the hereafter (Harmer 2003).

Transnational Islamic charities are considered to be organisations of the *Ummah* whose major work is attached to only Muslims; therefore, their claim to be humanitarian organisation is always suspicious. Despite these suspicions, most of the organisations claim to be neutral, impartial and universal in matters of relief work and development programmes. Whereas analysis argues that Gulf-based Islamic charities such as IIROSA, IICO and ERCS have broadened their conception of aid integrating certain elements of mainstream Islamic aid, for instance, the idea of humanitarianism, neutrality and accountability. However, they attempt to pragmatically apply these conceptions creating a kind of solidarity with mainstream aid development; they justify their actions in the light of Islam. Since Gulf Charities design their development policies with reference to Islamic interpretation, therefore, they are recognised as all-embedded Islamic organisations (Petersen 2011, p. 226).

In order to understand the function of Transnational Islamic Charities, this thesis presents a micro-social analysis of the International Islamic Relief Organisations of Saudi Arabia by exploring its role in Pakistan. IIROSA, being a charity organisation, has a three-pronged mission which includes social development work, humanitarian assistance work and serving the spiritual needs of people by providing them access to

⁷*Zakat* is the third pillar of Islam. It is derived from the verb *zaka*, which means 'to purify'. According to *Quranic* illustrations, this purification implies that the purification of one's wealth is a way to legitimize personal gains.

⁸*Sadaqah* is a "voluntary charity". According to the *Quran*, the word means voluntary offering. The amount of *sadaqah* is fixed keeping in mind the will and the need of the benefactor.

⁹*Waqf* is an endowment made by a Muslim for a religious, educational, or charitable cause

mosques and Quran learning centres.¹⁰ This thesis argues that as an Islamic relief organisation, the development tasks/projects of IIROSA are more compatible to religious instruction than the development criterion of the contemporary world.

For instance, the major orphans programme is run by IIROSA Islamabad as a social protection programme and is designed on the pattern of Islamic instructions when taking care of orphans. However, patterns of child care and categories of orphans are defined differently by the international community. Additionally, there are various common projects worked upon by secular development organisations and are seen as priority issues under Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), these include HIV/AIDS programmes, special treatments to help disabled children and women's empowerment. The aforementioned are not considered priorities by IIROSA (Alterman 2007, pp. 64-79).

The thesis explores how after the attacks on Washington and New York on the 9 September 2001 and the ensuing War on Terror, a particularly interesting window through which to study transnational Islamic charities was presented. This is a general analysis showing how 9/11 and the resultant War on Terror had serious consequences for transnational Islamic charities in the shape of restrictions, sanctions and diminishing funding. These strict measures were an onslaught on some suspected Islamic charities and as a result, some were expelled from the field forever and some were blacklisted for some time until they were exonerated of all accusations. International organisations and communities believe that this counterterrorism approach helped to filter out the real Islamic aid organisations from radical organisations and paved the way for a more vigorous and authenticated role for Islamic charities in the field of development aid (Howell & Lind, 2009, p. 47).

The post 9/11 regulations also had key negative effects on IIROSA. Two branch offices of IIROSA in the Philippines and Malaysia were shut down for having links with Osama Bin Laden and for playing the role as a financial donor of Al-Qaeda. Due to such allegations, IIROSA was blacklisted until 2014. In the course of time, IIROSA broadened its links with the UN and implemented projects for the UNHCR, UNRWA

¹⁰Usually regarding the matter of serving Islam the question arises which sect of Islam these organisations are serving. There is a general opinion about Saudi organisations that they proselytize *Salafism* through charity organisations. The policy of serving Islam is undertaken by IIROSA which includes constructing mosques and teaching how to read and memorize *Quran*.

and WHO. Additionally, the organisation extended its cooperation and collaboration with some other international development organisations like the OIC and ISESCO (Alterman 2007, pp. 64-79). In consideration of the previous allegations against the funding system of Saudi Charities, this thesis explores the financial control system of IIROSA in Pakistan with special emphasis on its religious activities.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into three sections. Each section contains the relevant number of chapters.

Section I, *Reviewing Transnational Islamic Charities* covers three chapters. This section situates the study of Transnational Islamic Charities in relation to existing literature on political Islam and faith-based organisations. This section first provides the overall contextualisation of transnational Islamic charities presenting the causes of the emergence of this kind of aid organisations. It then focuses on some of the specific historical events that have contributed to shaping the style and methodology of these charities in different regions of the world. This section provides information on transnational Islamic charities that have performed different roles in response to different events which were consistent with the prevailing situations. This section also explains the main distinction of Transnational Islamic Charities in context to its religious interpretation and contribution to humanitarian work. It discusses in detail the major religious factors integrated into the mission of Transnational Islamic charities as sources of funding and human welfare. These factors are referenced in the *Quran* and *Hadith*. Basically, the motto of humanitarianism presented in the holy book and prophetic sayings are to teach people how to please God and having success in the hereafter. This section highlights how Transnational Islamic Charities use the lessons of humanitarianism from the perspective of the social development of human beings.

The section-II *conceptual frameworks* present two chapters including Social Movement Theory and the religion-development nexus. These sections represent literature in order to explain the phenomenon of Transnational Islamic charities and maps out the actions required for studying Transnational Islamic charities. Further, this section adds understanding regarding the connection between the various variables of Social Movement Theory with Transnational Islamic Charities and the connection of religion to development. Thus, the section identifies the variables of Social Movement

Theory which helps to understand the causes of the emergence of Transnational Islamic charities. Similarly, the concept of the amalgamation of religion and development highlights the connection between Islam and development as well as the outcome of this linkage in the form of Islamic aid.

Section III, *Role of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia in Pakistan* encompasses five chapters. First of all, the section describes the methodology taken to investigate the research problem of this dissertation. The chapter explains the specific techniques and strategies applied in identifying the problem, collecting data, analysing the collected information. This section provides the case study of Transnational Islamic Charities. The selected case study is the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia and its role in Pakistan. Before analysing the performance of the organisation in Pakistan, this part introduces the structure, political and social background of the organisation in length. Discussing the setup of the organisation in Pakistan for the social development and aid during emergency situations to the needy communities of Pakistan, this section attempts to ascertain the role of IIROSA as a faith-based organisation as well as an entity of the international system.

This section finds that like all secular and faith-based development organisations IIROSA conducts activities in the field of social development and humanitarian assistance. The purpose of social development programmes is to provide better sources of livelihood to unprivileged communities of Pakistan. The main focus of social development work is education, health and social protection programmes. Under the social protection projects, the main mission of the organisation is the protection of orphans. In this connection, the organisation has built orphan houses to provide boarding houses and schools for unprivileged children, it supports some reputed orphanages of Pakistan through funding systems, and assists some home-based orphans with the help of Baitul Maal. As a relief organisation, like all NGOs, IIROSA reaches disaster-ridden places and people by supplying food provisions, health facilities, camps and all sorts of relief provision. Relief donations for IDPs are part of the emergency relief project.

As a faith-based organisation IIROSA attempts to help the unprivileged communities of the remote areas of Pakistan through the *Iftar* Project and the *Qurbani* Project. The motives for this programme are to show integrity and solidarity with poor communities of the country and give them an opportunity to celebrate their religious

festivals with full spirit and joy. Additionally, this part investigates, that while working as an Islamic charitable organisation in an Islamic country, how does IIROSA counter allegations of religious radicalization and what is the strategy of the organisation in this regard.

In the final analysis, the conclusion draws together certain findings of the study with reference to the initial research questions that were conducted in the study. Reflecting upon the theoretical contributions and examining the performance and impact of IIROSA in Pakistan, the chapter evaluates strengths and weaknesses of the organisation. Finally, the chapter proposes certain future developments concerning the role of IIROSA in Pakistan.

SECTION I: Reviewing Transnational Islamic Charities

Chapter 1: Transnational Islamic Charities in the Twentieth Century

1.1. Introduction

The term “Islamic Charity” is used for an organisation, which works for the social and humanitarian development for common people. Its mission activities include social development, disaster management, and community development. These charity organisations’ identity and tasks are motivated by Islam and much of the funding comes from the donors who share the same beliefs; therefore, these organisations design their missions in accordance with religious principles. Such organisations have a tendency to focus unequivocally on a public mission. In their routine work these organisations work towards the achievement of goals by means of dialogue, financial sponsorship, service provision and networking (Shaw-Hamilton 2007, p. 15). Almost all major religions have established charities in this way and are commonly known as faith-based organisations. The term “Transnational Islamic Charity” specifies those Islamic organisations operating across national boundaries and involving more than one country in their mission activities (Zubaida 2004).

1.2. The Emergence of Transnational Islamic Charities

The emergence of Transnational Islamic Charities is linked to the Islamic resurgence in the twentieth century which took place initially as an “anti-colonial liberation movement”¹¹ in Muslim countries. These organisations were initially set up with a variety of socio-cultural values but soon became synonymous with Islamic solidarity known as “the *Ummah*.” Muslim thinkers found that the Muslim identity was a salvation to European colonialism (Mandaville 2001, p. 69). The reason for this shift from national identity to Islamic identity was in response to the attraction of Arab leaders to western secularized and modern political ideologies. Arab leaders served for a

¹¹Anti-colonial liberation movement was a global movement started in the inter world wars period and soon turned into a successful achievement after 1945. The slogan of this movement was nationalism and national-self-determination. This was the distinctive movement of the 20th century against imperial powers in the colonized Muslim regions in southern Mediterranean, particularly in Egypt (Kodsy 2001).

long time under the European colonial period, consequently most had a special appreciation for western political and social setups. In the aftermath of World War-I, they sought to mould their states according to the political models of the Western state system. Although these regimes used Western political models of governance for their countries, they were unable to implement western systems of social welfare for their citizens. Arab citizens were still experiencing oppressive forms of government. This wave of distorted secularism and modernization provoked the rise of Islamic resistance movements and groups who were against encroaching western influences in Arab countries. Egypt led the Islamic resurgence which had developed a secular setup under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein. The initial face of the Islamic resurgence in Egypt was expressed in the style of social welfare activism by Muslims which became known as the “Muslim Brotherhood”. The resurgence of the Muslim Brotherhood is regarded as the foundation of Transnational Islamic charities (Petersen 2011, p. 74).

1.2.1. The Muslim Brotherhood: Pioneer of Islamic Activism and Social Welfare

The Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Ikhwan al Muslim) was established in 1928, a few years after World War-I and shortly after the end of colonization with the establishment of the Egyptian state, by an Egyptian school teacher with the help of six employees of the Suez Canal¹² Company. The end of the Ottoman Empire was considered to be a threat to Islamic unity. The motivation behind the organisation was the implementation of *Sharia*¹³ Law into government and social and economic sectors and suppression of colonialism and its remnants in Egypt (Soage 2008, p. 54).

Initially, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) was only a small association like many other new emerging associations in Egypt. The motto of this infant organisation was to motivate personal piety and charitable activism. By the 1930s the organisation started

¹²Suez Canal is an artificial sea-level waterway in Egypt, which connects the Mediterranean and Red Sea across the Isthmus of Suez. The canal was constructed by the Suez Canal Company in ten years between 1859 and 1869. The canal splits the African continent from the Asian continent and offers the shortest maritime route between Europe and Indian as well as Western Pacific Oceans. The Suez Canal is one of the busiest shipping lanes in the world (Fisher n.d).

¹³Sharia is Islamic law; it is derived from the religious guidelines of Islam, particularly the Quran and the Hadith.

opening branches in different provinces of Egypt. The message of the leader of the MB, Al-Banna was to reform Egypt and conditions of Muslims through its institutions, activism and mass communication. The pre-existing social networks like mosques, madrasah and Islamic welfare associations were grassroots centres of activities of the MB. In this way traditions and modernism were intertwined (Dreyfuss 2012).

Al-Banna came up with the policy of merging Islam and modernity through the promotion of the teachings of Islam and materializing social welfare programmes within the framework of Islam instead of the western colonial context. Social welfare education and charitable work were the two initial and prominent tasks of the MB. Later on, for the promulgation of Islamic identity and Egyptian nationality, the organisation developed into a key political force (AINA 2007). The manifesto of the MB insisted on the reformation of the state law on the pattern of Islamic legislation and to impose all-encompassing *Sharia* rules. The manifesto promulgated *jihad*¹⁴ against western culture and customs relating to the moral, social and economic fields. Any kind of breach of Islamic rules was subjected to punishment. Elementary schools were annexed to mosques where reading and memorization of the Quran and religious instructions were made into compulsory subjects.¹⁵

The MB used education as a movement for motivating Islamic mobilization and Islamization of society (Hatina 2006). The reason for the stimulation was to give a sense of Islamic identity to a new generation and strengthening Islamic communities (Mahmood 2005, p. 58). The focus of Islamic education was to train young people according to Islamic rules of *tarbiyah*¹⁶ and *tarteef*¹⁷ thus accruing religious knowledge. This discipline and moral training taught them the virtues of Islam such as honesty, truthfulness, patience, good intentions, tolerance and forms of misconduct (Mandaville 2007, p. 59). The Brotherhood wanted to use education as a tool to purify the faith of its activists as much as possible and to nurture activism (Hatina 2006).

¹⁴Jihad means a struggle or fight against the opponents of Islam (infidels). A Muslim's spiritual against sins is also termed as Jihad

¹⁵He wanted to promulgate a strong education policy in order to advance the standard of education in Egypt intending to raise virtuous and patriotic nationals with unwavering ethical cypher.

¹⁶*Tarbiyah`* is an Arabic word that means development, increase, growth, and loftiness. In Islam it means the development and the training of people in various aspects.

¹⁷*Tarteef* means act of adjusting, or condition of being adjusted; act of bringing into proper order.

To end the passion and attraction to foreign languages, cultures, values and governing systems, Al-Banna suggested Arabic as the sole official and primary educational language so that people could be Egyptianized. The MB decided upon matters of health in this regard: the number of hospitals, mobile clinics and facilities for medical treatment were increased. The matters of sanitation, pure water, and cleanliness were regarded as an integral part of social welfare, consequently training, and awareness programmes were initiated throughout the country. The policy to utilize *zakat* for the assistance of charitable projects such as orphanages, shelters for elderly people and the poor were compulsory projects. Therefore, after establishment, the MB focused on social welfare activism rather than formal political activities. All these initial activities of the MB were accepted by the community as an alternative to the failed policies (Lei & Petersen 2007).

The ideology of Al-Banna was four-fold: challenging materialism of the West, the imperialism of Britain, the nationalism of secular Egypt and traditionalism of *Ulema*¹⁸. At the beginning of 1930s, the MB spread beyond the boundaries of Egypt to other Middle Eastern and African countries including Libya, Syria, Palestine and Somalia. In those countries, the main objective of the MB was conducting charitable programmes; therefore, charitable societies were established in these countries. In the 1960s the MB opened branches in Europe and North America with the help of Muslim immigrants among which the majority of people were Egyptians and staunch supporters of the MB (Lei & Petersen 2007). Social activism of MB turned into political activism, from 1940 under the leadership of Sayeed Qutab. The journey of formal political activism of the MB started with the opposition to Gamal Abdel Nasser's secularism and the desire for an Islamic state grounded on *Sharia*. Despite all their political activities, this organisation did not terminate/stop its social activities. They remained engaged with common people through cultural and social activism.

1.2.2. *Jamaat-e-Islami (JI): Forerunner of the Islamization of Aid in South Asia*

Like the MB in Egypt, some other organisations were emerging in other corners of the world with similar kinds of religious and social visions. Among them, the most

¹⁸A body of Muslim scholars who are recognized as having specialisation in Islamic theology and law

prominent group was Jama'at-e Islami (Islamic Party). The Jama'at-e Islami (JI) was established in 1941 in Lahore by a theologian and journalist Sayeed Abul A'aala Mawdudi. The JI had close philosophical and institutional links with the MB. Like the MB, the JI was determined to Islamise the state governing through *sharia* law and was strongly opposed to secularism, communism, nationalism and westernized regimes. It also supported economic reformation through Islamic practices (Esposito & Voll 2001, p. 20). Mawdudi believed in the integrity of Islam to politics, he had a faith and vision in the Islamic state and piety as a solution to many problems of Muslims. Mawdudi not only opposed British rule but also called nationalism an un-Islamic movement. His ideology of the "Islamic state" was for the entire Indian subcontinent (Malik 2008, p. 370).

The prominent difference between the MB and the JI were their activities. The MB was primarily focused on social work whereas the JI focused on political activities and later turned to social work. After the subsequent partition of India, Mawdudi migrated to East Punjab, Pakistan where he started voluntary social work for refugees migrating from India to Pakistan. The *Jama't* opened medical clinics, mobiles, and accumulated funds for charity work by collecting and selling the skin of sacrificed animals on *Eid-ul-Adha*¹⁹. Being an advocate of "Islamization of the State" Mawdudi supported Islamization of the entire system in Pakistan and in this respect, he believed in the Islamization of the whole system. He believed that the solution to social and economic problems of Muslims were Islamic actions (Petersen 2011, pp. 75-76).

For Mawdudi, his *Jama't* (JI) was a precursor of the Islamic revolution and follower of the early age Muslims and their ideas of an Islamic state. Like the MB, the JI also wanted to achieve its goals using education and social work as a way to reach common people and motivate them to support an ideal Islamic society under the leadership of an *Emir*²⁰ (Adams 1983, p. 99-133). Therefore, his aid ideology in the form of social welfare programme is well known as the "Islamization of aid

¹⁹Eid al-Adha is the holy day of Islam celebrated across the world each year in the honor of Prophet Ibrahim and Prophet Ismail. Prophet Ibrahim willingly attempted to sacrifice his son Ismail in the obedience of God. Accepting the pure intention of Ibrahim God provided a lamb instead. Since then followers of Ibrahim sacrifice lambs, goats, and camels on this festival.

²⁰"*Emir*" is an Arabic word simply meaning "commander in chief" or "leader". This title was used for the Prophet Muhammad and then for other caliphs. This title is used several times by the rulers of Islamic states.

programme”. As Lincoln (2003, p. 6) states “activities, things, phenomena, people, and ideas are not religious *per se* but become religious when they are given religious meaning, when they are connected to a religious discourse that constitutes them as such”. Things do not get religious by reason of its particular subject but by being religionised. Likewise, when a matter is represented through the Islamic discourse within the framework of Islamic concepts, rule, narrations and traditions with reference to *Allah*, the *Quran* and the *Sunna*²¹, it is called Islamized matter and the same reasoning applies to aid issues as well.

Developing its wings in Pakistan, the JI founded a strong platform for social activities. For the security of professional people, the JI initiated unions for teachers, lawyers, doctors, peasants, students and women. The two significant examples of its work for the education of youth and students compatible with Islamic ideology are *Islami Jamaat-e-Talibaat* (IJT), *Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba* (IJT), *Shabab-e-Milli* (Petersen 2011). The big project of the JI in the field of humanitarian assistance is Al-khidmat Foundation which works in social development and humanitarian relief programmes including education, health, orphan centres, disaster management and community service (AFP n.d.).

Currently, *Jama'at-e Islami*, Pakistan has associated organisations in Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka and Kashmir. However, with time the mission and activities of the MB and the JI reached beyond the borders to other countries, but primarily these organisations initiated their work under the name of national interests through a local foundation.

1.2.3. Islamic Aid and Pan Islamic Solidarity in the Gulf region

These movements started in the Gulf countries and were transnational from the start of its discourse and disposition. Most of the transnational projects began in Saudi Arabia because of the country's leading position in the Islamic resurgence movement. Many of fundamental Saudi projects were associated with Pan-Islamic ideology. It was

²¹Sunna is the body of traditional custom and practice of the Islamic community, both social and legal, based on the verbally transmitted record of the teachings, deeds and sayings, silent permissions (or disapprovals) of the Prophet Muhammad.

an ideology that was articulated to balance the fragile validity of *Wahhabi Islam*²² and Nasser's secular Arab nationalism. The Pan-Islamic Saudi Arabia was leading the Transnational Pan-Islamic aid and its missionary activities in the 1960s and 1970s. This movement which started in the Gulf region had always been transnational in its discourse and disposition. The Kingdom initiated its transnational activities with the Muslim World League (MWL), the International Islamic Council for *Da'wah* and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p.71).

After the Yom Kippur war²³ in 1973, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait shifted the economic balance of power in their favour. Both countries emerged as giant oil powers among the oil-producing countries of the Gulf region and the industrialised countries in the West. The increased revenue of these countries provided huge amounts of money and these resources were at the disposal of these governments, businessmen and individuals. The business class and individuals invested the surplus capital into the private sector and institutions for the common people. Governments like the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia started its Pan-Islamic missionary activities and developed its role as a global humanitarian power. For economic stability, a number of Islamic financial institutes were established in the Gulf region as an alternative to socialism and capitalism so that Muslims would not be inclined towards a secular system and economic backwardness would be eliminated and be in line with the agenda of economic stability in the Gulf region, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia established the Islamic Development Bank in 1973 with the backup of King Faisal and financial assistance of the business class of Saudi Arabia. In 1975, the Dubai Islamic Bank, and in 1977, the International Association of Islamic Banks were set up as the most profit-oriented banks in the Gulf region (Tripp 2006, pp. 134-137).

This idea of the Islamisation of national economy went beyond the Gulf region to Iran, Pakistan and Sudan. In this regard transnational activities took place in the form of international conferences such as the first International Conference which was hosted by King Abdul Aziz University in 1976 and whose topic of interest was the Islamic

²²*Wahhabi Islam* is outcome of *Wahhabism*, which is a religious movement, initiated by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahab in order to restore original monotheistic worship.

²³Yom Kippur war was launched in 1973 as a joint attack from Arab World against the Israeli occupations. The attack against Israel took place under the leadership of Egypt and Syria on the holiest day of Judaism known "Yom Kippur" (Morris 2011).

Economy. Regarding the Islamic Economy, the role of *zakat* was highlighted and reinforced by Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian scholar, activist, in his doctoral thesis on “The Role of *zakat* in the Resolution of Legal Alms (1972)”. His thesis stresses the concept of *zakat* as a central point of the Islamic Economy. His study introduced new Islamic finance institutions where interests would be converted into charitable work often through the establishment of *zakat* mechanisms for the purification of money. This system introduced a new type of “Islamic economics”. This meant the Islamic business class, and the ‘religious-minded middle-class entrepreneur’ could donate large sums of money to charity. Charitable institutions were specifically created to fulfil these criteria (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, pp. 72-73).

Apart from economic reasons, the second reason for the emergence of transnational organisations in the Gulf region was the notion of pan Islamic solidarity (*al-tadamun al-Islami*). The idea was promoted by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. It was declared that all Muslims are one another’s responsibility, therefore; they should support each other in times of crisis. This idea materialized in the form of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The OIC aimed to protect and safeguard the interests of the Islamic countries (Mandaville 2007, p. 159). Other transnational Islamic organisations from this period included the International Islamic Relief Organisation (IIROSA) (in Arabic, *al-Igatha al-islamiyya al-calamity*). IIROSA was established as part of the MWL in 1979 with the key mission of humanitarian assistance and social development, we shall hear more about them further on. In 1984, Yusuf al-Qaradawi founded the International Islamic Charitable Organisation (IICO) (in Arabic, *Hayat alkhairiyya al-islamiyya al-calamity*). In 1988, the International Islamic Council for *Da’wah* and Relief was established in Egypt with the aim of enhancing coordination among Muslim organisations.

Initially, all these Transnational Islamic Charity Organisations started work as relief organisations with the focus on relief activities, cultural mission and education, but later on, by the end of the 1970s, they were involved in political issues for example, global conflicts and wars. What were those political issues, why and how these organisations emerged during that political scenario? This will be further detailed in the next part of this chapter.

1.2.4. Transnational Islamic Charities in the West

In the 1950s there was a purge of the MB in Egypt under the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser and in other countries including Syria, Iraq and Tunisia, consequently many MB members headed to Europe and USA. They had a great chance to renovate and resettle the organisation on a permanent basis which would be compatible with their new surroundings. During 1980s, the MB settled in Europe. Additionally, the people of the Middle East and Asia who reached Europe directed their finances and efforts to more stable Muslim organisations with the sense of Muslim solidarity and welfare. In 1982, some Muslim activists established the Islamic Community in Germany (in German, *Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland*). In 1983, the Union of Islamic Organisations in France (in French, *Union des Organisations Islamiques de France*) was established in France. In 1992, the European Institute of Human Science and the European Council for Fatwa and Research were established by the Federation of Islamic organisations in Brussels (Mandaville 2007, pp. 159).

The case of JI was parallel to the MB. JI reached Europe as a result of migration of large numbers of people from Pakistan and Bangladesh to Europe for economic reasons. Britain became the hub of JI when in 1962 the UK Mission was established in East London, Islamic Foundation in 1973 and Da'watul Islam in 1979 in Leicester (Cordier 2009). All these organisations were founded with the help of JI members. In 1997, the Muslim Council of Britain was established with 400 affiliated Muslim organisations in the UK. The council aimed to provide cooperation, consultation and co-ordination on matters concerning Muslims in the UK. Contemporarily, the council represents 500 independent national, regional and international bodies including community organisations, charities, mosques and schools. The council claims to be a non-sectarian body engaged with the common welfare of all communities of Islam (Muslim Council of Britain n.d). The Council was established in consultation with the government of UK and in the initial years it cooperated with the British Government, but in recent years, it has been alleged that the organisation has been forging closer links with the *Deobandi*²⁴ and *Salafi* leaders with JI and MB backgrounds (Mandaville 2007, p. 295).

²⁴Deobandis form a school of thought of Sunni Islam, which are strong proponents of the doctrine of Taqlid (conformity of one person to the teaching of other). Deobandis believe that a Muslim must adhere to one of the four schools (madhhabs) of Sunni Islamic Law and generally discourage inter-school eclecticism. They themselves are predominantly followers of the Hanafi School.

Islamic Relief was founded in 1983 by two medical students in UK. The literature gives details about only one of those two students whose name was Hani al-Banna. Hani al-Banna was an Egyptian man who got his motivation for setting up the establishment of an NGO in Sudan when he stayed there for few days whilst attending a medical conference. Later, Hani al-Banna as a director of the organisation invited some well-educated young men to be the trustees of his organisation, most of them were Egyptians and were personally or professionally well connected with some Muslim organisations in Europe and the Middle East such as the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, the Egyptian Human Relief Agency, the Muslim Brotherhood, and the Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe

The year after Islamic Relief was initiated, in 1985, Muslim Aid was established by a Muslim convert in Britain, who was also a well-known folk singer, Yusuf Islam (formerly known as Cat Stevens). Yusuf co-operated with a number of Muslim community organisations in this task. Initial trustees of the organisation were immigrants of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The trustees were well established and well-educated people and founders of the Islamic communities, organisations and schools and primarily connected to JI movement. The same trustees had connections with the Muslim Council of Britain and the Islamic Foundation in Leicester (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 80).

Islamic Relief's trustees displayed connections to the MB while trustees of Muslim Aid related primarily to the JI movement and its social justice agenda. Thus, many of the founders and trustees had or have positions in different British Muslim organisations which are, to differing degrees, inspired by the JI (Clarke 2010). For instance, one of the founders of Muslim Aid is alleged to be a former activist in JI in Bangladesh and co-founder of the British Dawat-ul Islam, an organisation that provides Islamic education which is strongly influenced by the *Jama'at* (Petersen 2011, p. 81). Likewise, several Muslim Aid trustees have enjoyed close connections to the Muslim Council of Britain and the Islamic Foundation in Leicester, both of which have also been broadly inspired by JI (Mandaville 2009). Like the MB and the JI, Saudi organisations also proliferated to Europe and Latin America because of the migration of Saudis to Western countries. Currently, many Gulf organisations had branch offices in the continents of Europe and Latin America (Petersen 2011, p. 81). In particular, these organisations were opened to serve the causes of the migrant Muslim community. Some of them were independent

organisations and communities and some were organised in local mosques. Some focused primarily on *Da'wah*²⁵, mosque services and the *Quran* lessons, while others were engaged more broadly in voluntary community services, including youth work, charitable activities and the collection of *zakat* (Cordier 2009). Their Initial donations were in the shape of *zakat* money, collections for mosques and money for *Qurbani*.

1.3. Factors and Events Responsible for the Emergence of Transnational Islamic Charities

In the twentieth century, some specific social, economic and political factors and events occurred that designed, mobilized and influenced a number of Islamic Charities. These events are the famine in the Horn of Africa, the war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union, the Bosnian War, and the 9/11 Attacks in the USA. These four events have contributed in a variety of ways to the formation of these organisations.

1.3.1. Transnational Islamic Charities in the Horn of Africa: The Phase of Competition (1970- 1985)

Islamic charitable institutes reached Africa with the establishment of the Muslim World League (MWL) in 1962. Two decades later, after its establishment, the MWL engaged in training activities, construction of mosques and establishment of Islamic Centres in Nigeria and Mauritania. Sudan was a target for the activities of the MWL as it was divided between Islam and Christianity; therefore, the Islamic Organisation started a competition amongst the traditional religions of Africa in order to advance its interests into the centre of Africa. The second modern and powerful outreach in Africa was the Islamic Call Organisation (*Munazzamat al-Da'waal-Islamiyya*, aka Islamic Call, *Islamic Da'wah*) founded by Muammar Qaddafi in 1973. Later the institution was moved to Sudan in 1980. In 1981, another active organisation the Islamic African Relief Agency (IARA) was established in Khartoum. The organisation aimed at providing humanitarian assistance to flood and drought victims in Uganda and Southern Sudan and assisting refugees in Eritrea and Ethiopia. The humanitarian conditions in Africa attracted the attention of Muslims around the world and encouraged the establishment of further charitable institutes in different regions of the world. Among these

²⁵Da'wah is an Arabic word, which means "to invite" non-Muslims to Islam.

organisations, IIROSA was the pioneer organisation, which came into being basically for the sake of the famine affected people in the Horn of Africa in 1979 with the assistance of a group of businessmen in Saudi Arabia (Petersen 2011, p. 90).

Similarly, in 1984, the International Islamic Charity Organisation (IICO) was established in Kuwait under the leadership of Yusuf al-Qaradawi with the help of Islamic scholars, businessmen and individuals for the victims of famine in the Horn of Africa. Apart from the Gulf states, immigrant Arab students in Europe were also active in helping the victims of famine. Among them, the students of Egypt in Britain played the most active role and established Islamic Relief to reach their brother Muslims in Africa. The establishment of Muslim Aid in 1985, by some Bangladeshi and Pakistani Muslim communities, was also promoted and concerned the victims of Ethiopia, Sudan and Eritrea. Apart from the above-mentioned Islamic Charities, several other Transnational Islamic Charities came into being in the decade of the 1980s (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 41).

The causes of the emergence of these transnational Islamic charities include the surpassing oil prices, recognition of the Pan-Islamic solidarity, and the migration of Muslim communities to the West and the spread of communication technology. It was first time in the history of disasters in Africa that a famine was covered by the media and attracted the attention of an international audience. Through media coverage, the Muslim community and institutions came to know about the active role of western and particularly Christian faith-based Organisations in the Horn of Africa. These realities concerned the Muslim community and they wanted initiatives from Muslim NGOs to help starving Muslims in the region of Africa (Cordier 2009).

Thereby, the first generation of Transnational Islamic charities was now competing with the Western charitable sectors (Bellion 2000, p. 15). This competition was not only in terms of humanitarian assistance and social development, but there was a widespread conception that there were covert and overt missionary activities by western organisations in Africa, which involved the proselytization of Christianity through social assistance and relief work. Secular organisations accused of faith-based activities included “Medicins sans Frontiers”. The organisation was believed to be involved in the promotion of Western values through humanitarian assistance, and invited Muslims to convert to Christianity. In this context, some Muslims organisations undertook the responsibility of saving their Muslim brothers in Africa. This determined

their work in the field where they wanted to preserve the cultural and religious identity of African Muslims thus, they competed with Western charities (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 70).

Muslim organisations were certain that Christian organisations were conducting missionary activities in Africa because Africa was once a European colony and Muslims were a minority in the region (Petersen 2011, pp. 92-93). As Ahmed (2009, p. 426) says Western aid organisations are often depicted as deploying aid as a means to convert Muslims to Christianity and to exercise political control over them. The Muslim charity organisations not only started humanitarian work, but they introduced some missionary projects in Africa to counter the Christian missionary work. Some Gulf-based Organisations influenced by the Pan-Islamic notions like IIROSA and IICO had objectives to provide aid as well as protect the identity and faith of Muslims in Africa (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 41). Thus, historically, Africa especially East Africa has been considered an important Islamic frontier of the Umma (Brenner 1993, p. 15).

Among the disaster-ridden regions of Africa, Sudan had been a notable ground of competition between Western and Muslim organisations because it was already a victim of the political struggle between Muslim and non-Muslims. On the Muslim front, the organisations which were active in Sudan consisted of IIROSA, IICO, The Sudanese Organisation of Islamic Call, Libyan World Islamic Call Society, African Muslim Agency and the Islamic African Relief Agency. While among Western organisations, the most active were Oxfam, CARE, World Vision, and Médecins sans Frontiers, Adventist Relief Agency and the Lutheran World Federation. Both Muslim and Western organisations were critical and suspicious of each other's activities in Sudan. In 1995, Muslim organisations such as Islamic African Relief Agency accused Western NGOs such as the Sudanese Council of Churches, Médecins Sans Frontiers and the Irish GOAL of forced conversion and providing monetary and technical assistance to Christian insurgents (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 111).

IIROSA and IICO did not criticise the Christian and Western NGOs publicly for conspiring against Muslims, but they agreed with other Muslim NGOs that the missionary work of those NGOs needed to be counteracted and this could be achieved by making Islamic knowledge and education compulsory. This would be part of the

provision of Aid to the Sudanese people which included conducting *Quran* circles and constructing mosques (Petersen 2011, p. 94).

On the other hand, Christian and secular Western NGOs were also extensively critical of the Muslim NGOs in Sudan. They accused Muslim NGOs of supporting militants and the government of Sudan (Kirmani & Khan 2008). Western NGOs distrusted Muslim NGOs and rarely invited them to attend coordination meetings. These suspicions and doubts by secular Western NGOs of Muslim NGOs meant they were not in favour of growth and sustenance of Muslim NGOs as they were working for the Muslim cause, however, it was proven that their activities were contributing to global development agendas. Under these circumstances, some Muslim NGOs came to the forefront and encouraged coordination and cooperation between Muslim and Western NGOs. Among these organisations, the Sudanese organisation Islamic African Relief Agency was the most prominent. Since the beginning, the founder of the organisation preferred dialogue between Muslim and Christian NGOs and stressed the mutual cause of both types of faith-based organisations, which was helping the poor and assisting disaster victims (Petersen 2011, pp. 94-95).

1.3.2. Transnational Islamic Charities in Afghanistan: The Phase of Conflict (1979-1989)

Like Africa, the Transnational Muslim Organisations became involved in other Muslim regions of the world especially Afghanistan. Many people assumed the communist attack on Afghanistan was an atheist attack against Muslims. This idea created unity amongst Muslims against the communist Soviet Union and in favour of Muslim Afghanistan. The idea of Muslim solidarity motivated the individuals, states, political groups and organisations in collecting funds to provide aid to Afghanistan. The most prominent aid organisations active in the field included IIROSA, Muslim Aid, and IICO. In addition, some new Muslim NGOs were created in order to catalyse the aid to their Muslim brothers, the majority being from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait such as the Benevolence International Foundation and the Al Haramain Islamic Foundation founded by a Saudi Arab in 1988, the Islamic Call Committee (in Arabic, Lajnat al-da'wa al-Islamiyah), established in 1986 by Kuwait's Society for Social Reform (Al-Islah) (Ahmed 2009, p. 431). Some other NGOs from other Muslim countries included the social welfare branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Human Relief Agency established by the Egyptian Arab Doctors Union in 1985.

Muslim migrants in Europe and North America also established many NGOs in order to channel aid to Afghanistan. In 1980, Muslims in Canada founded the Canadian NGO for Human Concerns. In 1986, the US-based Mercy Relief International opened its office in Pakistan so that it could run hospitals and clinics on the Afghan-Pakistan border. In Afghanistan, however, the US was supporting freedom fighters against communist forces even so the Western NGOs were suspected of being backers of atheism by Muslims and that the Muslim NGOs were supporting Western values and in particular, liberal parties within the country.²⁶ On the other hand, in reaction to the special statement by Yousuf al-Qaradawi regarding Islamic identity of freedom fighters, Western political groups, NGOs and individuals interpreted the activities of Muslim NGOs in Afghanistan in two-ways. In their opinion, the Muslim NGOs were not only providing relief assistance to sufferers, but they were also supporting the fighters in the cause of jihad against the USSR and all western countries²⁷. The Saudi NGOs, in particular, were accused of providing weapons and financial support and volunteers to the *Mujahideen*²⁸ of Afghanistan (Maktab khidamat li-l-mujahidin) (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 73).

In these terms, it was alleged by Central Investigation Agency (CIA) that IIROSA was helping training camps in Afghanistan. IIROSA defended itself by stating that the organisation was sending relief funds to these areas but it would be difficult to separate the aid used for relief and military support. They went on to explain that some of their recruits were supporters of the Mujahedeen. These staff members were volunteers in the area and it was inevitable that many might be involved with the Mujahedeen in one form or another. However, they insisted that they were not directly involved in any of the activities conducted by the Mujahedeen. Additionally, the involvement of Saudi Muslim Organisations in military support was influenced by the international environment and the nature of war in Afghanistan. Saudi and all other Muslim and Western organisations were sanctioned by the USA and Saudi Arabia who directly and indirectly supported the freedom fighters against the Soviet Union (Benthall & Bellion-

²⁶Muslim NGOs preferred to frame an Islamic Coordination Council in 1986 rather than affiliating with Western NGOs to support Muslims in the Muslim countries (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2003, p.74).

²⁷As Yousuf al-Qaradawi declared in an interview about war in Afghanistan that supporting resistance in Afghanistan was a Fard'ain (an obligation for individuals). All Muslims were obliged to provide assistance to the mujahideen with all their competence and capacity related to their field and expertise.

²⁸*Mujahideen* is a plural form *Mujahid*, which means a person who is struggling in the way of God considering it as religious.

Jourdan 2009, pp. 72-73). These fighters who were fighting against the Soviet Union were known as 'freedom fighters' and later on as the Mujahedeen. Finally, in 1981, the U.S.A requested that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia be counterparty with the former in the U.S.A congressional study for Afghan Resistance. As a result, the aid sent through different Saudi Organisations surpassed both military and logistical support to the fighters. The Saudi Red Crescent which was the most active NGO for supplying funds to Afghanistan was later recognised to be part of the weapons pipeline through different means (Hegghammer 2010, pp. 26-27).

After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan the international political scenario shifted. The conflict in Afghanistan drifted into civil war. The USA withdrew its involvement in the affairs of Afghanistan. The USA and Western countries started calling for control and scrutiny of Muslim NGOs activities. Pakistan was on the target list as it was a border country of Afghanistan and channel for all kinds of assistance to the Mujahideen. Pakistani authorities were forced to inspect all Muslim charities and individuals involved in the post-war activities of the Afghan Mujahedeen. As a result of the investigation into Muslim charities, the Pakistani authorities arrested more than hundred people working with NGOs on Pakistani and Afghanistan borders. Consequently, the head of the Muslim World League, Islamabad was also dismissed for supplying arms and documents to Afghan militants (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan, 2009, p. 77).

1.3.3. Transnational Islamic Charities in Bosnia: The Phase of Co-existence (1992-1995)

The Bosnian war (1992-1995) was a new focus for Islamic Charities after the Afghan war. Many new Charities came out of the woodwork to support the victims of the Bosnian war. The unique part of this new generation of Islamic charities was their western origins. The new charities developed through immigrant communities included the North America Global Relief Foundation (1991); Muslim Hands in Britain (1993); the first transnational Turkish NGOs including the Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief in 1995; the Iranian organisations Foundation for the Oppressed and the Iranian Islamic Centre (Benthall and Bellion-Jourdan 2003, p. 139). Like Afghanistan, Gulf-based charities were the major source of aid to Bosnia. The two Saudi charities IIROSA and Al-Haramain were the most active participants of the

war. IIROSA embarked on a project aimed at Bosnian refugees in Croatia and Slovenia (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 130).

The alleged political involvement of Islamic charities in the Bosnian conflict was also reported by the CIA in 1996. Al-Haramain, Human Relief Agency, IIROSA and Islamic Benevolence Foundation and eight other organisations were accused of being involved in supplying weapons, sponsoring volunteers, extending fake ID cards, visa extensions to Arab fighters and supplying military equipment (Hegghammer 2010, p. 49). Despite all these allegations, the war in Bosnia was different from the war in Afghanistan for several national and international reasons. One main reason was, Bosnia was European with a more secular tendency, the locals and authorities were not filled with the *Jihadi* spirit. For this reason, Bosnia was not a welcome ground for Islamic fighters (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 76).

In 1993, the World Trade Centre, on US territory, was attacked. The Muslim Charities were alleged to be financial supporters of the plotters. In 1998, two US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed. Five Islamic Transnational charities Al-Haramain, IIROSA, the Ibrahim bin Abdul Aziz Ibrahim Foundation, Mercy International and Help African People were alleged to be involved in the bombing. Consequently, a number of individuals were arrested, and the funding and expenditures of these Islamic organisations were controlled. The time had arrived when the Islamic organisations were forced to demarcate a line between aid activities and Jihadi activities (Salih 2001, p. 24).

It was at this time Western Islamic charities announced their strategy of neutrality, universalism, impartiality and co-existence. As a first step, Islamic Relief of Britain participated in the fundraising activities and supplied aid not only for the Muslims of Bosnia but also for the Serbs and Croats. As a second step, Islamic Relief joined Oxfam and Save the Children in their campaigns. It was a new turn in the history of Transnational Islamic Charities. Islamic Charities based in the western countries started working independently. Previously, they were rarely offered funding packages from the mainstream development organisations or hardly invited to join the partnership programs. But with a change in their policy from isolation to the scheme of co-existence, all three major western organisations: Mercy Relief International, Muslim Aid and Islamic Relief earned huge donations in these years (Petersen 2011, p. 100).

1.3.4. Transnational Islamic Charities in the Post 9/11 Era: The Phase of Restrictions and Restraint

The terrorist attacks on the Pentagon, Washington D.C and the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11, 2001, and the ensuing War on Terror had a grave impact on the Transnational Islamic Charities. This event defined and moulded the characteristics and boundaries of Transnational Islamic Charities. Immediately after the attacks, suspicion fell on Al-Qaeda and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan who had sheltered Al-Qaeda. The United States reacted by launching a war against Taliban regime in search of Al-Qaeda members and War on Terrorism to dismantle the Terrorist Networks. A number of Transnational Islamic charities were alleged by the US to be financially supporting Al-Qaeda and its members. The United States government labelled 46 Transnational Islamic charities as transnational terrorist organisations and the authors of the US report alleged that they [Islamic charities] were responsible for terrorist attacks across the world (Alterman 2007, pp. 64-79). Among these 46 organisations, the four major targets of US allegation included Al-Haramain, the Revival of the Islamic Heritage Society, the Global Relief Foundation and Benevolence International Foundation. The US designated these organisations to be directly or indirectly related to Al-Qaeda (Petersen 2011, p. 100).

In the following years, governments of Western countries and International organisations designed various new policies and regulations to restrict the charities involved with terrorist networks under the Financial Action Task Force (FATF)²⁹ (Shaw-Hamilton, 2007, p. 19). In the aftermath of 9/11 events, the families of the victims filed a suit against Islamic charities most of them were Saudi charities, officials, patrons, businessmen. Among these Saudi charities, three foundations including Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation, the Muslim World League (MWL) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) were heavily criticized (Petersen 2011, p. 104).

The MWL and the WAMY, both Saudi funded organisations, work in several Muslim countries as well as Europe. The primary mission of these organisations is to promote Islamic teaching and boost the religious aspirations of Muslims (Marshall, 2006). WAMY is basically a youth campus as it addresses the issues of students and

²⁹FATF is an inter-governmental organisation founded in 1989 in order to set regulations and implement legal and operational initiatives for resisting money laundering, terrorist and illegal financing and to integrate the international monetary system throughout world.

youth. The assembly organises educational activities including workshops, research circles, conferences and symposia. Besides, the organisation funds sports activities for Muslim youth; these include football tournaments and scout camps (WAMY, n.d.). In 2002, the assembly invited Khaled Mashal, a leader of Hamas, for a lecture at a conference “Muslim Youth and Globalization”. Since then, WAMY was accused of supporting militant campaigns in Palestine and Kashmir and radical madrasah in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. In 2004, the FBI and the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement and Joint Terrorism Task Force raided the WAMY offices in Alexandria and Virginia (Berkley Center n.d.).

The MWL claims to be independent of any political missions and tendencies but its humanitarian wing International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia was alleged to be working as a financial supporter of terrorist activities of Al-Qaeda. Some of the branch offices of IIRISA were banned and the organisation was blacklisted by the UN in 2009, but in 2014 the organisation was delisted and currently, it is a member of many UN specialized agencies and working to gain worldwide recognition as an aid and development organisation (IrefWorld 2003).

Al-Haramain Islamic foundation had branches in a number of Islamic countries as well as Europe and the US. The charity was alleged to be deeply corrupt, and a fundraiser for extremism and fundamentalism. However, in the post 9/11 scenario, the US allegation against Al-Haramain was not enough to prove its linkage with the terrorist wings despite this, the U.S still pressurised the Saudi Government to close down the Al-Haramain office in Bosnia and Somalia. Eventually, on March 11th, 2002, Saudi Arabia agreed to jointly designate the branches in accordance with the US government. As a result, eight orphanages were shut down, the campaign against cholera was stopped and the project of wells was banned and health care clinics were closed. Later, a UN investigation team could not find any evidence of radical pursuits by Al-Haramain in Somalia (Belew 2014, p. 247).

On November 27, 2002, the National Commission, also known as the 9/11 Commission was set up to investigate the causes of the 9/11 attacks. The second main objective of the commission was to respond to the attack and to endorse the defensive measures against future attacks. The 9/11 Commission report issued some additional information about two US-based Islamic charities including Global Relief Foundation (GRF) and Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) (Belew 2014, pp. 240-241).

The BIF was accused of funding Al-Qaeda in obtaining chemical and nuclear weapons. The BIF office in Bosnia was shut down in 2002 because Bosnian intelligence found weapons, military equipment and photographs of Osama bin Laden in the office (Woehrel 2005).

In 2003, the restrictions and financial control against Islamic charities were fixed after the bomb attacks in Riyadh on November 9, 2003. Consequently, the Saudi government advanced cooperation to the FATF. Charitable contributions were severely restricted, and *zakat* boxes where cash contributions could be made anonymously were eliminated and some branches of Al-Haramain were designated (Belew 2014, p. 249). The Al-Haramain offices in the US, the Netherlands, Bangladesh and Somalia and four offices inside Saudi Arabia were shutdown (Cotterrell 2005). Later on, the case of Al-Haramain in the Netherlands and the one US office in Oregon were dropped because there was no proof showing the involvement of their branch offices in the terrorist attacks. According to the final decision, it was not the whole branch office, but only the directors of the branch who had special links with Al-Qaeda. It was a time for restraint and patience for Saudi charities. They authorized the meeting to explore whether a dialogue with US law enforcement and intelligence organisations could be established to resolve issues that had been raised about improving the capacity of charities and preventing the diversion of charity resources for improper purposes. The charities agreed to waive legal rights against self-incrimination, disclose financial records, and authorize unscheduled visits to charity branches (Belew 2014, p. 253).

In the aftermath of 9/11 attacks, as participants of war on terror, the United Nations, the European Union and some other countries individually imposed restrictions on Islamic charities. The United Nations Security Council passed several anti-terror resolutions among them the most significant step regarding Non-Governmental Organisations is the UN Security Council Committee 1267. The Committee requires all states “to freeze without delay the funds and other financial and economic resources of, prevent the entry into or transit through their territories by, and prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale and transfer from their territories or by their nationals outside their territories, or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of arms and related material of all types, spare parts, and technical advice, assistance, or training related to military activities, to designated individuals and entities related to Al-Qaeda and Taliban” (UNSC n.d, p, 1).

The European Union designed its counter-terror strategy after the attacks in New York, Madrid and London whereas the 9/11 attacks worked as an incentive for conducting counter-terrorism cooperation (Edwards & Meyer 2008). On March 29, 2004, the European Council strengthened its war against terrorism. The strategy of the council included thwarting finance of terrorist activities and networks through the exchange of information, improving traceability of financial transactions and transparency of legal entities. For locating terrorists and dismantling their networks strong and close sharing of information at national and international level is essential. In this regard, the European Council suggested that the involvement of all specialised services of European Union like Europol and Eurojust were needed to exchange information. Joint investigation teams for cross-border investigation of terrorist financing and the cooperation between authorities and private sectors were encouraged. In order to follow money trails, the EU Council decided to establish a national and international investigation team to freeze and confiscate the assets of terrorists. Improvement of the transaction systems were assured for controlling money laundering. Under a transparency mechanism of non-profit sectors, a regulation was enacted to control the illegitimate use of Non-profit organisations (NPOs). Under the regulation, the NGOs found guilty of offences linked to terrorist activities and crimes were to be disqualified (Argomaniz 2009).

On 23 November 2005, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee decided to stop access by terrorist networks to financial resources. To that end, the Commission sought to achieve the objectives ensuring coordination between national authorities and guaranteeing the transparency of non-profit organisations (EUR-Lex 2004).

Apart from international organisations, individual states also took measures to curb the involvement of NGOs in financing terrorists. The United States maintained a list of Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons as well as Specially Designated Global Terrorists and Foreign Terrorist Organisations. If any US-based NGO financially supports designated blocked persons or organisations, the Treasury Department of the US is authorized to freeze its assets (Petersen 2011, p. 101). In Great Britain; the Asset Freezing Unit under the HM Treasury upheld a consolidated list of designated individuals, organisations and networks. Since 2003, the unit froze the assets

of 200 individuals and 100 organisations following the information shared by agencies of the UK, the UN and the EU (Danckaers 2008).

Saudi Islamic charities were harshly accused of involving in terrorist activities, therefore, after the 9/11 attacks, Saudi Arabia had to exert tighter control over organisations and their activities especially the flow of funds and activities of the transnational organisations. Declaring the coordination of the international community against terrorism, in July 2003, the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency authorized a set of different regulations for Saudi charities. The new guidelines required all organisations firming up funds in a single bank account licensed by the government. In the coming years, the Saudi charities were barred from transferring funds abroad. The act of the Monetary Agency was followed by formation of the National Commission for Relief and Charity Work Abroad in 2004. This Saudi Commission was established to supervise the activities of all Saudi NGOs including the transfer of funds and public donations. This commission facilitated stronger governmental control over NGOs. In the following years Saudi Arabia actively worked together with the US on the charities issue as elaborated above (Harmer 2005).

The suspicions, allegations and restrictions against Muslim NGOs had two perspectives. On one hand, it helped to discipline the Islamic NGOs and from the other angle, it had a wide range of negative implications and placed severe limits on the projects of these organisations. As a result of post 9/11 initiatives, several organisations were blacklisted and they had to shut down their activities. Most of those organisations were not exonerated in court to prove the allegations were baseless. For instance, the US-based Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) was alleged to have a relationship with Bin Laden, the case was taken to court, but the charges against the organisation were not proved. Throughout the process, BIF faced a loss of reputation and loss of resources; as a consequence, the organisation was shut down (Guinane, 2006). It was another similar case of AHIF Netherlands and Oregon who experienced similar consequences. The allegations against the organisation's links to terrorist networks or as a supporter of terrorism were proved wrong, only some evidence was found showing some association of the directors to Al-Qaeda (Alterman 2007, pp. 76-77).

Inside Saudi Arabia, common people complained that they were facing obstacles in fulfilling their religious obligations. Saudis are used to donating huge amounts as a

zakat and *sadaqah* for various goals including orphans, mosques, Quran circles, and several other virtuous acts. Transnational organisations facilitate them by donating frequently to such causes. As a result of the ban on transfer of funds abroad, many people could not contribute to the religious cause for a long time (Alterman 2007, p. 74). Additionally, some donors were deeply affected by the thought of their monies falling into the wrong hands and this meant that the amount given to Muslim charities was much reduced (Baron 2004).

Currently, the majority of Gulf-based Islamic charities are concentrating on development activities, but they attempt to fit development projects into the framework of religious determinants.

1.4. Summary

This chapter explores the study of Transnational Islamic charities and is based upon the understanding of idea and emergence. The literature suggests that the idea of Islamic charities as Islamic activists cum social welfare activists emerged for the first time with the establishment of the MB in the 1930s. The MB was a pioneering organisation in the collective promotion of Islamic identity in the social, political and economic levels of Muslim countries. Initially confined to Egypt, the organisation swiftly promoted its ideology across borders through its branch offices in different countries of the world. The motivation for Islamic identity, political Islam and charitable work were three of its motives for its activities everywhere in the world. Similarly, the model adopted by the MB was replicated by the JI in South-East Asia in Islamizing the sub-continent in the 1940s. With partition; the JI got involved in social activities for refugees and victimized persons and raised the voice in favour of Islamization of Pakistan. In Pakistan, the organisation continued its social activities through different wings. In the 60s and 70s, Saudi Arabia was the leading transnational Islamic movement through Transnational Pan Islamic aid and Transnational Pan Islamic missionary activities. Economic stability, establishing a number of economic institutes and Pan-Islamic solidarity were the reasons for the emergence of Gulf-based transnational Islamic charities. Establishment of transnational Islamic charities in the west is linked to the migration of the MB and JI workers to western countries especially the USA and Europe. These members established their organisations in these two countries for the solidarity and welfare of the Muslim *Ummah*.

Along with ground philosophical and theoretical reasons for the emergence of Transnational Islamic Charities some events helped the foundation of these organisations. The four major events like War in the Horn of Africa, Afghan War, War in Bosnia, and 9/11 attacks played a significant role in the emergence of transnational Islamic charities. All these four events had different backgrounds and implications for this generation of charities. For instance, as a result of the war in Africa the Islamic organisations became as competent as secular and Christian organisations. During the Afghan war, the Islamic aid organisations supported fighters against the communists. In Bosnia, many western Islamic charities participated in supporting the victims, these organisations tried to work in co-existence with the policies and approaches of secular and the faith-based organisations of other religions. Finally, as a result of the 9/11 attacks, several Gulf-based and western charities came under pressure and had to restrict their activities, many organisations had to revisit and re-evaluate their policies.

Generally, this research work on Transnational Islamic charities not only tries to explore the thinking behind the Islamic charities policy, it also tries to understand what is Islamic in these organisations. The next chapter is linked to that question: What are the religious manifestations of Islamic charities? What are the known characteristics of Islamic charities and how are those determinants working in these organisations?

Chapter 2: Religious Determinants of Transnational Islamic Charities

2.1. Introduction

The development study discourse suggests that both secular and faith-based charity organisations have a background in providing services to common people and playing a positive role in the field of humanitarianism in both local and international levels. Being faith-based humanitarian organisations, Transnational Islamic Charities share several features and characteristics with their mainstream development counterparts (secular organisations) and apply similar social and economic contexts to their mission. Despite sharing common features, there are two distinct characteristics, which make faith-based humanitarian organisations different from secular humanitarian organisations. First, they are motivated by a particular faith and their mission includes following a pattern of human service as instructed by their faith. Second, these organisations are organised by faith-based countries, the countries where the religion works as the main determinant in state policies. Before leading the discussion on the main topic of the chapter, it is imperative to understand what is faith and a faith-based organisation and how they work for the humanitarian purpose. This chapter evaluates how faith plays the role of mobilizing faith-based charitable or faith-based humanitarian development organisations for humanitarian purposes. Transnational Islamic charities, wherever they are based in the world, belong to this category of faith-based organisations. This chapter gives a detailed account of those Islamic factors, which are adopted by Islamic charities as a milestone for their fundraising activities as well as humanitarian initiatives.

2.2. The Idea of Faith in Faith-based Organisations

From a religious perspective, faith is a belief in the teachings, codes, ethics and standards of a religion. The term faith-based organisation is defined by many scholars who are engaged in the research on this subject. The simple description of the term FBO is presented by Julia Burger (2003) who terms FBO as a formal organisation whose identity and mission is self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual traditions. These organisations operate as non-profit, independent, voluntary entities in order to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the

public good at the national and international level. Here it is important to note that an organisation can be considered an FBO if it is based upon the idea of spiritual attachment to a religion and being structurally connected to all the communities' even non-Muslims for humanitarian assistance purposes.

It is to be noted that all FBOs do not necessarily work in development issues. Some FBOs provide social services on a consistent basis over time, which may be "hidden" as part of the activity of a religious congregation or community without separate formal structure. Clarke (2006) well interprets the nature, objectives, structure and functions of FBOs broadly and more suitably designed a typology in order to set apart the FBOs work for development and humanitarian mission from other kinds of FBOs. He sets the following typology of FBOs.

1. *Faith-based Representative Organisations or Apex Bodies:* These organisations are represented and governed by the states like the OIC
2. *Faith-based Charitable or Development Organisations:* These organisations are established for development work and humanitarian assistance in order to alleviate poverty and community development initiatives. In most cases, they operate a worldwide mission. Transnational Islamic Charity organisations like IIROSA, ICO, Islamic Relief of Britain are the most well-known examples of these types of FBOs
3. *Faith-based Socio-political Organisations:* These FBOs install faith like a political theory and organise and mobilise social activism on the basis of certain faith identity for pursuing political objectives. Examples given are the Muslim Brotherhood and *Jama't-e-Islami*.
4. *Faith-based Missionary Organisations:* These faith-based organisations are engaged with proselytization work. They engage with the communities of other faiths to convince them of conversion, For instance, the Muslim World League.
5. *Faith-based radical Organisations:* These faith-based organisations are engaged with the work beyond proselytization. They work against other faith communities through violent means and justify their actions on the grounds of their faith. The examples are Al-Qaeda and Taliban.

This Typology indicates that a faith-based organisation derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or from a

particular interpretation or such a thought with the faith. The organisation derives its staff, volunteers or leadership from a particular faith denomination and its mission statements are religious-oriented. However, faith-based organisations are criticized by secular organisations for overlapping missions and activities, but these allegations are not validated through scientific research work (Petersen & Moigne 2016).

Before the formalization of international humanitarian law, faith communities were involved in assistance tasks to the poor and victims of natural disasters and wars under the instruction of religion. Their motivation for humanitarian assistance is derived from their holy texts and messengers. Islam is distinctive with regard to this subject for having some systematic and mechanical order in the form of *zakat*, *Sadaqah*, and *waqf* (Ferris 2005).

However, religious affiliation makes Transnational Islamic Charities distinct from secular humanitarian organisations; even so, there are some identical features in both types of organisations such as concentrating on social development themes, emergency relief and other social service provisions. The discourse of Development studies terms these actions as ‘humanitarian assistance’ and ‘social development’. Transnational Islamic Charities relate this discourse to the *Quran*, the *Hadith* and the life of the Prophet and attempt to practise it within the constraints of regulation by contemporary International System and Humanitarian Law. For instance, education is a well-known project run by the mainstream development organisations as well as by all Transnational Islamic Charities. Islamic charities relate its services and activities to the Prophet Muhammad and teachings of Islam. The Prophet especially advised that much attention should be paid to the education of the people and the bringing up of orphans in a saying that ‘whoever looks after an orphan will be ‘like two crossed fingers with him in paradise’. Islamic charities provide a wide range of services, from residential homes and day-care centres to individual sponsorship and paying for school uniforms, textbooks or special clothes, medical facilities and religious festivals (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 69).

Assistance to refugees and displaced people is also a common task of all the mainstream development organisations and Transnational Islamic charities. The Prophet Muhammad, himself, did *hijra*³⁰ accompanied by his friends and followers and sought

³⁰Migration from one place to another place is called *hijra*. Migration of Prophet Mohammad from Mecca to Medina took a very important place in Islam as the Islamic calendar was set by the year of *hijra*.

refuge in the houses of the inhabitants of Medina. Along with the events and practices of the life of the prophet, the mechanism and the sources of assistance prescribed by the *Quran* and the *Hadith* in assisting the needy, the poor and displaced people are the actual essence of these Transnational Islamic Organisations. Among these sources of funding to Islamic charities, three forms including *zakat*, *sadaqah*, and *waqf* are the most prominent (Ferris 2005).

Transnational Islamic charities widely rely upon these three above-mentioned Islamic means/obligations of welfare as common people donate to Transnational Islamic Charities the amount of *zakat* and *sadaqah* as per the spirit of Islam. Among the Gulf countries, Saudi Arabia is a well-known country for giving charity within as well outside of the kingdom. As Saudi Arabia is an oil-rich country and the majority of people live above the poverty line, a huge number of people distribute annually *zakat*, monthly *sadaqah* and *khairat* and do *waqf* on their property to the NGOs so that their monetary assistance could reach the deserving. The *Quran* and the *Hadith* instruct Muslims to tend to charitable deeds for *Duniya-wa-aakhirah* (for this world and hereafter) (Ferris 2005). Therefore, this chapter highlights both the spiritual and social significance and implications of charity and the related sources of charity like *zakat*, *sadaqah* and *waqf*. Understanding of monetary framework suggested by Islam will help to understand the reason of the foundation of Transnational Islamic Charities and the basic teachings about the utilization of this obligatory and non-obligatory financial contribution mechanism in general and by the charity organisations in particular.

2.3. Charity in Islam and Its Use for Transnational Islamic Charities

In Islam, charity is considered as a way to validate faith. There are several such expressions in the *Quran*, which evoke safety and integrity of faith through charity. For example, *Surah Al-Hadid* states “Believe in *Allah*³¹ and His Messenger and spend in the way of *Allah* out of that to which He has made you heirs, and those of you who believed and spent in the way of *Allah*, for them is the great reward” (*Quran* 2:261)³². In *Surah At-Taubah*, the significance of charity is expressed in these words “They only inhabit the mosques of *Allah* who believe in *Allah* and the Last Day and establish prayer

³¹*Allah* is the Arabic word for God in the Abrahamic religions. It is usually referred to God in Islam.

³²This English version of the Holy Quran by Professor Shah Farid-ul-Haque is the translation of *Kanz-ul-Eeman* the Urdu version of Imam Ahl-e-Sunnat Maulana Shah Ahmed Raza Khan of Brielly.

and pay *zakat* and fear none but *Allah*, therefore it is near that these people may be among the guided ones” (*Quran* 9:18). Further, there are types of the charity for each spiritual situation of a human being and their redemption. Such as deliverance from distress and protecting oneself from misfortune by giving *sadaqah*, paying thanks to God for successes by giving *khairat*³³, and relinquishing pride and erasing sins by giving *kafarra*.³⁴

In Islam, the concept of *jaza and saza* (reward and punishment) in life after death depends upon one’s intentions and actions in this world. In this connection, the *Quran* reveals that a person’s charitable work will enhance his rewards in the hereafter. This provision is mentioned in *Surah Al-Hadid*, “Surely, the almsgiving men and almsgiving women and those who give a Godly loan to *Allah*, it shall be doubled for them and for them is an Honourable reward” (*Quran* 57:18). This verse underscores that despite the charitable act being destined for his fellow men; a person will receive God’s reward. Islam specifies that every act performed by a Muslim on humanitarian grounds is considered as a loan to God and God will repay it with significant interest. *Surah Al-Baqarah* confirms this “Is there any who should give a Godly loan to *Allah* so that *Allah* may increase many times for him. And *Allah* scants and amplifies, and you are to return unto Him” (*Quran* 2:45).³⁵

As there are several promises about payment of charity in Islam; similarly, numerous warnings are mentioned in the *Quran* and *Hadith* regarding non-payment of charity. The Quranic text warns those who do not pay charity “The day when they (treasure) shall be heated in the fire of the Hell, then their foreheads and sides and backs shall be branded therewith. This is what you had hoarded for yourselves, now taste the hoarding” (*Quran* 9:35). *Surah Al-Hâqqah* describes the punishment for not giving charity as obligated in Islam in these words “Oh, would that death had made an end of me. My wealth has availed me nothing. My all strength has gone from me. Seize him and put chains around his neck. Then cast him into blowing fire. Then thrust him into a

³³Arabic Word “khairat” is used for some good work or deed.

³⁴“*Kaffara*” is an Arabic word. It is a religious donation made in Islam when a fast (notably in *Ramadan*) is broken. The donations can be of food, or money, and it is used to feed those in need.

³⁵*Surah Al-Baqarah* further specifies the rewards for spending wealth for human being in order to please *Allah*, in these words: “The example of those who spend their wealth in the way of *Allah* is like that of a grain which caused to grow even years and in each year one hundred grains and *Allah* may increase more than that for whomsoever He pleases; and *Allah* is Bountiful, All-knowing” (2:261).

chain the length of which is seventy cubits. Undoubtedly, he did not believe in *Allah* the Great. And he did not urge the feeding of the needy” (*Quran* 69:27-34).

The Prophet’s saying about the punishment for non-payment of *zakat* is narrated by Abu Huraira. The Prophet said, “Whoever is made wealthy by *Allah* and does not pay the *zakat* of his wealth, and then on the Day of Resurrection, his wealth will be made like a bald-headed poisonous male snake with two black spots over the eyes. The snake will encircle his neck and bite his cheeks and says, ‘I am your wealth, I am your treasure’ (Bukhari 2:24:486). A *Hadith*, about the utility of charity, was narrated by Zainab the daughter of Um Salama says “My mother said, oh *Allah*’s Apostle! Shall I receive a reward if I spend for the sustenance of Abu Salama’s offspring, and in fact, they are also my sons? The Prophet replied, “Spend on them and you will get a reward for what you spend on them” (Bukhari 2:24:546). Taking into account these verses of the *Quran* and *Hadith*, it is concluded that religiously minded Muslims are obliged to perform a charitable act for showing their faith in God and their religion. Emphasizing the significance of that obligation, they are promised with rewards in hereafter and punishments on account of failure in performing this obligation.

The Quran and *Hadith* also mention the social utility of charity. The *Quran* requires Muslims to be involved in social acts. Muslims are obliged to provide *zakat* (almsgiving) for constructing a social life for Muslims on positive terms. *Zakat* is to be provided to needy people regardless of their personal character. Socially, the concept of charity is linked to an economically balanced and a just society³⁶ (Khan et al.2009).

Regarding social issues, Islam pays particular attention to the matter of orphans. A number of verses in the *Quran* and *Hadith* by the Prophet demand a sympathetic and kind attitude to orphans and promises the worst punishment to those who oppress those (Krafess 2005). Islam connects the matter of orphans to one’s belief. In this context, the text of *Surah Al’Maun* expresses, “Well, you see him who belies the Requit. Then he is the one who drives away the Orphan. And, does not urge the feeding of the poor” (*Quran* 107:1-3). Warning punishment against the violation of an orphan’s rights given in Islam, *Surah An-Nisaa* conveys the message of God in these words “Those who

³⁶ The concept of just society includes three aspects, namely a fair and equitable distribution of wealth; provision of basic necessities of life to the poor and the needy; and protection of the vulnerable from social and economic exploitation by influential persons (Khan & Tahmazov 2009).

consume the property of orphans unjustly, they fill their bellies with fire only, and they shall soon enter into the flaming fire” (*Quran* 4:10).

Feeding the hungry in a time of starvation or famine is also a form of charity. A number of various ways are described when fighting hunger including, distribution of meat during the feast of sacrifice, payment of *kaffara* for breaking *Ramadan* fasts or not observing fasts, distributing *khairat* at the time of happiness, and paying *sadaqah* in difficult times. All these are sources of eliminating hunger and starvation from society (Phillips, 2009). As, Al-Bayhaqi said in the *Hadith* number 3367 of *Shu`ab al-Iman*: “the best of alms is to feed the hungry”.

In addition to this assistance, there are found some encouraging expressions concerning long-lasting welfare programmes in the *Hadith*. Long-term actions encouraged by Islam include those which are destined to provide water and food and the gift of work resources. Signifying the worth of long-term projects concerning rewards in the hereafter, the Prophet exemplifies the acts; among the top four are: irrigation, rehabilitation, planting trees and wells (Al Albani 1:3602). Concerning the prophet’s interest and concern about the cultivation of plants, Syuti narrates in *Hadith* number 8837 of *Jami Al Sagheer* “If a Muslim cultivates a plantation he will be rewarded, until the Day of Judgement, every time a human, an animal or a bird eats the fruit of the plantation”. Bukhari refers in the *Hadith* number 5757 of *Sahih Bukhari* about the promises of prophet regarding a lasting reward for the sinking of wells saying, “Whoever digs a well will be rewarded until the Day of Judgement every time a human, a genie or an animal drinks from that well” (Kraeff 2005, p. 334).

However, social welfare is the outcome of a charitable act yet the above-mentioned verses and *Hadith* reveal that the foremost end of social obligations of charity in Islam is God’s pleasure, spiritual satisfaction and reward for the deeds. In the context of above-mentioned Quranic texts and *Hadith*, if we have a look at Transnational Islamic charities, we can see that all social aspects of charity described in the *Quran* are the main tasks of these organisations. The ongoing projects of all these organisations include caretaking centres for orphans, providing shelter and assistance to the victims of disasters and refugees, facilitating access to clean water, conducting education and health projects. Besides having knowledge of the theological and sociological outlook of charity in Islam, it is imperative to highlight the major forms of

charity given in Islam. These forms play a role in funding charity organisations.³⁷ Islam directs two main types of charity—Obligatory and Voluntary. *Zakat*, which is obligatory and fixes a certain percentage of property one possesses; second, *sadaqah* and *waqf*, which are voluntary forms of charity (Kraefess 2005).

2.3.1. *Zakat*

The idea of *zakat* is articulated in *Quran* in many places. *Zakat* reserves some of the shares of a person's wealth for the community and thereby purifies him for the Day of Judgment and enables him to receive the ultimate rewards in the hereafter (Bashear 1993). In the *Quran*, *Allah* promises the beneficent that their generosity will be reimbursed many times over by paying *zakat*. In *Surah Bakara*, *Allah* pledges believers to reimburse their generosity many times over: "The likeness of those who spend their wealth in the way of God is the likeness of a grain of corn that sprouts seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains. So, God multiplies unto whom He will; God is all-embracing, All-knowing" (*Quran*2:261). At another place in the *Quran*, this promise is outlined in these words: "and what you give in usury that it may increase the people's wealth, increase not with God, but what you give in alms, desiring God's Face, those-they receive recompense manifold" (*Quran* 30:39). According to these verses, prosperity adheres to the conscientious *zakat* payer. Theoretically, Muslim jurists recognize *zakat* as a tax, which is a manifestation of belief.³⁸ Classification of the beneficiaries³⁹ of *zakat* is stated in the *Surah At-Taubah*: "The *zakat* (poor-due) is only

³⁷ However, currently Western Islamic charities are coordinating with some secular mainstream development organisations for funding despite that the actual monetary resources prescribed by Islam for the assistance of needy people are still a main financial source of all Transnational Islamic Charities.

³⁸ Muslim jurists recognize four other types of taxes, which derive their legitimacy from the theory of holy war. These four types of taxes are *Jizya*, *Tithe*, *Usher* and *Khum* (Donner 1992). *Zakat al-Fitar* is also a separate kind of *zakat* paid by Muslims in the month of *Ramazan*. *Zakat al-Fitar* is not mentioned in the *Quran*, but *Hadith* obliges Muslims to pay *zakat alFitar* before the beginning of *Eid-ul-Fitar* (celebrated at the end of holy month of *Ramadan*). *Zakat al-Fitar* is also obligatory for all Muslims even those who are not fasting for some reasons. Muslim jurists categorize the obligation of *Zakat al-Fitar* lowers than the annual *zakat* because it is not mentioned in the *Quran*. Second, it is not paid on property or revenue. Third, failure to pay *Zakat al-Fitar* is not mentioned as a sinful act. The immediate purpose of *zakatal-Fitar* is enabling the poor people to celebrate *Eid* Festival (Singer 2008, p. 62).

³⁹ *Imam* Ghazali in his book "Ihya-ul-Uloom" describes eight categories of the people who deserve *zakat* as following: 1. *Fuqarah* (The poor): *Fuqarah* is one who has got no wealth and properties and who has got on ability to earn. 2. *Masakin* (The destitute): one whose expenses are greater than his income. He may be owner of one thousand dirham, but still he is a destitute under the certain circumstances. 3. *Aamil* (The administrators/collectors of *zakat*): out of the earnings of *zakat*, collectors of *zakat* may be paid.

for those who are *fuqarawa'al-masakin* (poor and needy) and *Aamil* (those who collect it), and for *Mu'allafat Quloobhuhum* (those whose hearts are to be conciliated to Islam), and for *Riqab* (the freeing of slaves), and for *Gharimin* (debtors), and for *Fi-sabilillah* (spending in the way/cause of Allah) and for the *Ibnus Sabil* (traveller). This has been ordained by Allah. And Allah Knows, Wise (*Quran* 9:60).

2.3.1.1. *Who is Al-fuqarah wa'al-masakin?*

“*Al-fuqarah wa'al-masakin*” is the first two categories in the list of those individuals who are eligible for *zakat*. Before understanding the distinction between these two categories, it is necessary to understand that even word *Fuqarah* has a variety of meanings. In the matter of a person's relation to God, God is “*al-Ghani*” means “self-sufficient” and “rich”, while a person is *fuqara* means fully dependent on God and seeker of his mercy. Literally, *Faqir* is a person who is disabled and dependent. This quality of dependency is the central point to understand the distinction between *Fuqarah* and *Masakin* (Singer 2008, pp. 38-39). *Faqir* is one who has nothing and does not earn a livelihood by engaging himself in any occupation without help. While a *Miskin* is a needy person who barely has the means to cover their most basic needs. *Miskin* include the working poor, who despite their labour cannot maintain themselves at their accustomed level. In other words, *Miskinis* defined as a poor person who has some possessions, though not enough for sufficient sustenance (Ghazali 1998, p. 174).

Transnational Islamic Charities accept *zakat* funds for this first recognized category of deserving persons; *Al-fuqarah wa'al-masakin*. The significant objective of the mission of charities is to provide social protection, emergency relief, education, healthcare to the persons belonging to this category of *Al-fuqarah wa'al-masakin*.

Writer, one who takes measures and one who copies registers are included within these staffs. They can be paid in excess of their requirements. 4. *Mu'allafat Quloobhuhum* (Those whose hearts are inclined): They are non-Muslims whose hearts are inclined towards Islam. If they are inclined to Islam, there is possibility of their coming to Islam. 5. *Riqab* (Slaves by agreement): There may be agreement between a master and slave that if the slave can pay a certain sum to the master, he can get freedom. This money can legally be paid out of *zakat* funds. 6. *Gharimin* (Debtors): *Zakat* may be paid to clear off debts of a person who has got no means or clear them or who has property which is not sufficient to clear them. If a man runs into debts for having committed sinful acts, *zakat* cannot be paid to him unless he repents. 7. *Fi-Sabilillah* (For the cause of God); 8. *Ibnus Sabil* (Those who are stranded during a journey): *Zakat* can also be used to help a traveller facing difficulties in continuing his journey due to reasons such as loss of money or the breakdown of his vehicles, the repair of which he cannot afford.

2.3.1.2. *Can Non-Muslims be Beneficiaries of Zakat?*

The Transnational Islamic charities began their journey as religio-political organisations depending on Muslim donors and beneficiaries, but with time the organisations attempted to transform themselves into proper humanitarian and development NGOs. Western Islamic charities have reached out to Western secular donors (governments, and aid agencies) for funds, however, Gulf charities are still dependant on Muslim donors and sympathisers, but in the case of beneficiaries, they are giving space to non-Muslims in their programmes. In reality, Gulf Islamic Charities and Western Islamic Charities are all members of the international community. In order to be well recognized as humanitarian organisations and to relinquish the negative influences of 9/11, these organisations will have to adapt to the international environment merging their policies with religious traditions and professional international trends. Moving in between these two routes (Islamic and international) Islamic charities have to validate their activities in accordance with the demands of both their traditions and international laws (Petersen 2011, p. 106). In view of the positionality of Islamic charities, it is imperative to know the answers to some such ambiguous questions with reference to Islam.

This question about non-Muslims to be eligible for *zakat* can be verified with reference to the verse 60 of *Surah At-Taubah*. The Ayat states, *Mu'allafat Quloobhuhum* is the fourth category of the beneficiaries of *zakat*. The word *Mu'allafat Quloobhuhum* refers to those whose hearts are won over for the cause of Islam. Accordingly, those people who are in unbelievers' camp and who are engaged in hostile activities against Islam were considered part of this category in the age of the Prophet. This term is also used for those converts who could revert to unbelief because of a lack of proper consideration towards them. This verse makes it legitimate to provide non-believers a lump sum regularly or temporarily or in time of need in order to safeguard their loyalty and have a neutral policy to Islam. Additionally, these expenditures were paid to resist converts' reversion to Islam or to neutralize their activities even if they are aligned to the opposite block. Such people can be paid from other sources of revenues other than *zakat*. It is not necessary that the recipients who belong to that category should be needy or poor; they may be paid even if they are rich (Kahf 2002).

This category of the beneficiaries of *zakat* was granted eligible for these funds during the reign of the Prophet Muhammad. After the departure of the Prophet from this

world, it became a controversial issue as to whether *zakat* and other revenues should be paid for this purpose or not. *Imam* of *Hanafi* jurisprudence, Abu Hanifa and his disciples are of this view that such payments are no longer permissible after the Prophet; especially, since the reign of caliphate Umar. They refer to an incident that occurred during the regime of Caliph Abu Bakar when the caliph refused to pay *zakat* fund to non-Muslims.⁴⁰ Deriving their judgment from this example, *Hanafi* jurists argue that this category of beneficiaries has lost its rationale since Islam has spread worldwide as a supreme religion, and now it is capable of defending itself. They unanimously agree that this category should be abolished once and for all (Mawdudi 2009, pp. 222-223).

Imam of *Shafi'i* School of jurisprudence, *Imam Shafi'i* holds the view that in order to reconcile a sinful person to Islam, these payments may be paid but not to unbelievers. However, some jurists of this school opine that this category of payment is conditional. In their opinion, this category is permissible for genuinely needy whenever they are in acute need of assistance. In addition, *Shafi'i* views that the Prophet never paid *zakat* funds to non-believers in order to reconcile their hearts to Islam. There were several other sources of revenue; one of them was the spoils of war, which were used for that purpose. However, *zakat* funds were used only for Muslims whose hearts he sought to reconcile. Malik School of jurisprudence is compatible with the rules practised during the reign of the prophet about *Muallaf-at-Quloobuhum*. They contend that it is lawful to give *zakat* to non-Muslims so as to make them well-disposed and loyal to Islam. Such monetary assistance will dissuade them from joining an opposition alliance (Mawdudi 2009, pp. 223-224).

Commenting on this debate between different Islamic schools of thought, Qaradawi (2011, pp.20-21) argues that there are examples of such controversial cases in which '*ijma*' was claimed or a state of no report of disagreement was mentioned whereas there is concrete evidence that such cases were not agreed upon. The matter of

⁴⁰ Uyanah b. Hisn and Aqra b. Habis visited Abu Bakar in order to grant a piece of land. Abu Bakar complied, but in order to make the grant official, the documents were to be witnessed by some leading companions. Some companions acted in accordance with Abu Bakar's act, but when they approached Umar for that purpose, Umar tore the documents and said "The prophet no doubt used to pay you in order to reconcile your hearts [to Islam] but those were the days when Islam was weak. Now Islam does not stand in need of the support of persons like you" Grant seekers returned back to Abu Bakar and requested him to use his authority as a caliph, but neither Abu Bakar nor any other companion disapproved Umar's stand (Ansari 1994).

zakat payment to non-Muslims is also one of those controversial issues. This is because in early generations there were many scholars most of whom were dispersed in several countries, so that it was very difficult to know their stand point on certain issues. He further argues that in view of this situation contemporary Islamic scholars need to review these interpretations, opinions, and arguments, to discuss them with certain degree of neutrality, to examine them in the light of the criteria descending from God, and to show which among them is the most worthy.

Rahman (1999, p. 27) provides several references to prove that *zakat* can be given to non-Muslims. He gives an example of the second Caliph ‘Umar bin -al-Khattab, who saw a Jew begging from the people, he asked him the reason for it. The Jew told him of his old age and inability to earn his bread but still had to pay *jizyah*⁴¹. As soon as the caliph listened to the poor, old, non-Muslim man, he recited this verse of the *Quran* ‘‘undoubtedly the *zakat* is for the poor and the destitute’’ Then he said ‘The poor mentioned in the verse are Muslims and the destitute and those belonging to the people of the Book. Further, quoting the second example in this reference he writes: Abu Ja’far Muhammad bin Jarir al-Tabari says in his famous commentary of the *Quran*, *Tafsir al-Tabari*: ‘Undoubtedly, *zakat* is for the poor and the destitute’, the poor (*fuqarah*) among the Muslims should not be called ‘the destitute (*masakin*)’.

The reference to the destitute is made in respect to the people of the Book. Therefore, this verse about giving the *zakat* includes also the non-Muslims. Dr Yusuf al-Qaradawi (2011, p.4) in his book *Fiqh-al-Zakah* writes that reconciliation of hearts is part of *zakat* distribution, determined by a clear verse in *Surah At-Taubah*, and not annulled or idled by anything.

In the light of above discussion from the Sunni Islamic perspective, it is clear that there is no reference in the *Quran* or *Hadith* against paying *zakat* to non-Muslims. But, in view of the *Quranic* verse and the practice of the Prophet, it is obvious that *zakat* was paid to unbelievers for a religious purpose. However, this practice was shifted by the second Muslim caliph, laid an example that circumstances are the most crucial factors in making a decision about *zakat* expenditures.

In the context of Transnational Islamic charities, the most complex question raised is that regarding the non-Muslim recipients of aid. Almost all Islamic charities have

⁴¹*Jizyah* is yearly tax on the property of non-Muslim subjects levied by Islamic states under Islamic law.

worldwide aid programmes covering both Muslims and non-Muslims. Islamic charities describe their mission focusing only on need. A staff member of Muslim Relief of the UK in Pakistan says that at the time of distribution of emergency food or even *Qurbani* meat, the organisation does not check the identity cards of the recipients of the aid to verify which god they belong to because our organisation focuses on need rather than needy Muslims. Similarly, discussing the matter of the distribution of *Qurbani* meat the staff member of IIROSA Islamabad states, at the time of the distribution of *Qurbani* meat, if some non-Muslims line up for the share of meat for their children, we cannot push them out of the line just because the animal was sacrificed in the name of *Allah* and it was purchased from *zakat* donation. However, the literature on Transnational Islamic charity organisations does not provide any direct opinion or statements on the matter of *zakat* funds for non-Muslims; it is observed that almost all charities use *zakat* funds for non-Muslims. Additionally, they can enact their policy with reference to the Islamic school they belong to. This research reveals that IIROSA prefers Malik School of Islamic jurisprudence, which is a staunch follower of the rules and practices of the Prophet Muhammad. As mentioned above, the Malik School legitimizes *zakat* for non-Muslims to ensure a positive inclination towards Islam and remove any antagonistic approaches; the utilization of *zakat* to non-Muslims is not a complex and controversial issue for IIROSA Islamabad.

2.3.1.3. Zakat Fi-sabilillah for Jihad or for Humanitarian Purpose?

Interpretation of this seventh category of *zakat* beneficiaries is associated to *jihad* by the *Shafi'i fiqh* in the classical manual of *fiqh* '*Umdat as-Salik wa 'Uddat an-Nasik*'.⁴² According to *Shafi'i fiqh*, the seventh category of *zakat* beneficiaries is those fighting for *Allah*, meaning people engaged in Islamic military operations for whom no salary has been allotted in the army roster (O: but who are volunteers for *jihad* without remuneration). They are given enough to suffice them for the operation, even if affluent; of weapons, mounts, clothing, and expenses (O: for the duration of the journey, round trip, and the time they spend there, even if prolonged). Though nothing has been mentioned here of the expense involved (Al-Misri 1991).

Analysing the stand of the *Sunni* school of *fiqh*, Mawdudi believes that all those who participate in this struggle for religion may be, temporarily or regularly, given

⁴²The book *Umdat as-Salik wa 'Uddat an-Nasik* was written by 14th -century scholar Shihabuddin Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad ibn an-Naqib al-Misri.

assistance from *zakat* funds. This assistance may be in the form of expenses for the journey, goods relating to warfare, or financial (Mawdudi 2009, p. 224-225). Regarding Transnational Islamic charities, this question is crucial: Can charity organisations pay *zakat* to all irregular voluntary groups, who are fighting in the name of *Allah*? Is this category directed to regular army troops of Islamic states? This question is crucial as we have to take into account the current uproar against materialistic and financial support to Islamic militant organisations through Islamic organisations or states.

Before discussing these questions, it is imperative to know the answers to the questions: What is *Fi-sabilillah* ? Are Transnational Islamic charities legitimized collectors and administrators of *zakat* funds in the light of *Quranic* expressions? The *Quran* mentions *zakat* administrators in the category of *zakat* recipients. This inclusion is evidence that there should be a formal office for the collection of *zakat* or in other words *zakat* collection and distribution should be formally systematized. Muslim (Islamic) history recounts that *zakat* was collected during Muhammad's lifetime as well. However, it was institutionalized sometime after hijra to Medina, where the official setup was called *Bait-ul-Maal*. *Zakat* was not the only official funding to the *Bait-ul-Maal*, but the major one (Mawdudi 2009, pp. 221-222).

This issue of *zakat* collection was dealt by *Hanafi* jurist Sarakhsi. He viewed that collection of *zakat* was the duty of the head of the state. Direct payment to the poor was not allowed. However, *Imam Shafi'i* views *zakat* as an individual obligation that must be paid to the poor and eligible. However, in the absence of legitimate Islamic governing authority, individuals must learn how to determine one's due *zakat* on wealth/property. In such circumstances, they should assess their own *zakat*; seek qualified *zakat* recipients in accordance with the specifying verses of the *Quran* and the exemplifying practices of the Prophet. Whether one asks for *zakat* or not, it is absolutely clear in the *Quran* that the poor and the needy (followed by others who are eligible) must be paid their due share from *zakat* under any circumstances (Kister 1994). From this discussion, it can be concluded that, however, *zakat* collection is the obligation of Muslim states, if there is no such entity to take this communal obligation of *zakat* collection and distribution, then the Muslims of each locality, community, or region must create an independent *zakat* agency to facilitate it.

Concerning the concept of *fi-sabilillah*, the specific definition and realization of *zakat* is religious and spiritual and focuses on God's closeness with the individual. It

tries to induce an equitable social and economic life for individuals and communities in a positive manner. *Zakat* is a means to provide a chance to the poor and needy section of the community to sustain life. One of the strong narratives regarding social influences of *zakat* is its provision of a mechanism for collection and redistribution of wealth. And, it trains Muslims to acknowledge a responsibility for other members of their confessional group.

Rahman (1983, p. 11) emphasises this aspect of *zakat* in his explanation of *Iman*. He says “Belief (*Iman*) is intended to produce action and so really good work must result from faith. Islam, literally “surrendered to God’s law” is the concrete expression of faith and is demonstrated by good works”. Further, relating *Iman* and Islam, he narrates Islam is the overt, concrete and organized working out of *Iman* through a normative community. Good deeds are not acts isolated in a void, but play a fundamental role in the Muslim community. This discussion reveals that Islamic charities can work as administrators of *zakat* funds; the term *fi-sabilillah* implies working in line according to the instruction of *Allah as given* to the people for fellow men.

2.3.2. Sadaqah

The second main monetary source of Transnational Islamic Charities is *sadaqah*. Although *zakat* and *sadaqah* are not always distinguished from each other in the *Quran*; certain verses clearly imply two kinds of donations. *Surah Al-Bakara* narrates: “The real righteousness is not this that you turn your face towards East or West; yes, the real virtue is this that one has faith in *Allah* and the Last day and the angels and the Book and the Prophets and gives his dear wealth for love of *Allah* to kindred and orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and the beggars and for redeeming necks, and establishes prayer and pays poor due (*zakat*); and the performer of their promises when making promise and the patients in tribulation and adversity and at time of crusade;-These are they, who proved truth of their talks and they are only God-fearing” (*Quran* 2:177). In this verse, two different kinds of giving are mentioned to define righteousness. The first part of the verse mentions giving away property and then, in the end, specifies *zakat* as an exclusive obligation. This verse endorses *zakat* as a mandatory *alam*, while *sadaqah* is a voluntary *alam* of someone for the benefit of poor and destitute.

In addition to paying *zakat*, *Quran* verses and the *Hadith* continually encourage believers to give generously and remind them how much God esteems beneficences. No penalty or sanctions exist for those who do not give *sadaqah*. But giving alms is supposed to bring a donor closer to paradise on the Day of Judgment, atone for sins, and contribute to the well-being of the entire community of Muslims. This point is referred in *Surah At-Taubah* in these words. “Do they not know that it is God [alone] who accepts repentance from [all] His [truehearted] servants, accepting, as well, [their sincere] charitable offerings, and that, indeed, it is God [alone] who is the All-Relenting, the Mercy-Giving? Therefore, say [to them]: Do works [of righteousness]! For God will assuredly see your work, and so will His Messenger and the believers. Moreover, you shall be returned [in the end] to the [Sole] Knower of the [realms of all the] unseen and the seen. Then He shall tell you [the due recompense] of all that you have been doing [in life]” (*Quran* 9:104-105).

A number of *Hadith* mention the acts of human welfare as forms of *sadaqah*. In the *Hadith* number of Sahih Bukhari number 2827, Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah said, ‘There is a charity to be given for every joint of the human body each day upon which the sun rises. To judge justly between two is a charity. To help one mount one’s beast, or by lifting one’s bags on to it, is a charity. To speak a good word is a charity. Every step to the *salat* (Prayer) is a charity. To remove an impediment from the road is a charity’. Looking at other definitions of the *sadaqah*, in view of the *Hadith* given above, it is noticeable that *sadaqah* does not only mean the monetary or material giving. Any act of kindness or simple deeds that help people are also forms of *sadaqah*.

Amongst these forms of *sadaqah*, one of the most effective kinds is *Sadaqah-e-Jariyah*. The literal meaning of *Sadaqah-e-Jariyah* is “Never-ending charity” because the virtue of this form of *sadaqah* runs on throughout life and after death. Donors of *Sadaqah-e-Jariyah* receive an on-going reward from *Allah* for their charitable deeds after death. Building a Mosque (place of worship), schools and hospitals, supplying water, planting trees are some examples of *Sadaqah-e-Jariyah*. The Prophet lays emphasis on this form of *sadaqah*. Different *Hadith* highlight that bringing up a righteous child is also a kind of *sadaqah –e- Jariyah*. Abu Huraira reported: Allah’s Messenger said, “When a man dies, his acts come to an end, but three, recurring charity

or knowledge (by which people) benefit, or a pious son, who prays for him (for the deceased)” (Sahih Muslim 13:4005).

Sadaqah is a source that puts people in touch with God and strengthens their humanitarian qualities. Providing assistance to the materially less fortunate individuals increases the quality of compassion in people (Wakawa 2010). Besides, in case of coercive governing power, which is oblivious to the basic needs of people and less considerate to the sufferings of common people, such kinds of religious-social responsibilities (*sadaqah* and *zakat*) encourage people to remember benevolence between them and invoke a sense of responsibility towards their fellow humans. Thereby, it may prove to be a great supporting aid to the livelihoods of poor and needy persons (Krafess 2005).

From a religious perspective, Transnational Islamic charities run their projects within the category of “*Sadaqah- e-Jariyah*” meaning long-lasting *sadaqah* for the welfare of human-beings. Projects of Construction by Transnational Islamic charities especially that of wells, mosques, orphanages, education centres and hospitals come within the category of *Sadaqah-e-Jariyah*.

2.3.3. *Waqf*

Waqf is a charitable endowment. However, it is not actually mentioned in the *Quran*, numerous *Hadith* discuss *waqf* making, the trend was practised by the caliphs of Islam. *Waqf* is a form of wealth that yields charity while maintaining its original integrity and form. The person who does *waqf* of his property maintains a hold on his property but gives it up for philanthropy or to an organisation for a certain period of time. During that period the property would be used just for that cause to which it is disposed, but to use it for some other cause would be prohibited. Accordingly, some of the valuables, especially, land, a building, or some other asset is placed in *waqf* for the benefit of poor and needy, though the asset does not lose its original shape (Anderson 1951). Any type of *waqf* is also the embodiment of *sadaqah* par excellence, but it is distinct to other kinds of *sadaqah* because of its legal status. A property which is set aside as *waqf*, to the cause of *Allah* becomes a pious endowment, which legally means inalienable in perpetuity (Singer 2008, p. 110).

The practice of *waqf* dates back to the Prophet's time. The matter of the Prophet's property, its inheritance as well as the wealth and property of wealthy Muslims were

discussed in his life. The most important tradition concerning the *waqf*, which is preserved in *Hadith* collections, was a saying by the Prophet to Umar ibn -al-Khattab. As was narrated by Bukhari in *Hadith* number 2737 and Muslim in *Hadith* number 1633 from Ibn Umar: “My father obtained a parcel of land in Khaybar and said: ‘O Messenger of *Allah*! I have property in Khaybar that is the best of my possessions. What do you command me to do with it?’ The Prophet said: “‘You may desire to give it to charity (*sadaqah*) while maintaining it for its original use”. Following the instructions of the Prophet, Umar gave it to charity, and it was for *Allah*’s cause, the emancipation of slaves, the poor, guests, travellers, and kinsmen. The person acting as its administrator could eat in it and let a friend do the same on condition that he had no intention of becoming wealthy by its means. The statement articulated in this *Hadith* not only lays the foundation of *waqf* but also describes the appropriate beneficiaries as well. According to this *Hadith*, the prophet himself was the founder of *waqf* and the second caliph Umar ibn- Al-Khattab was the person who began the practice of *waqf*.

There is another detail about *waqf* concerning a fountain in Medina, *bier-rima* (or ru'ma), which was the property of a man of the Banu Muzayna. The third caliph Uthman purchased one-half of it from him and let the people of Medina use the revenue from it. Later on, the remaining one half was also purchased by Uthman who devoted it for the same purpose. People were advised, however, not to allocate more than one-third of their wealth for a *waqf*. Naturally, this was intended to protect the property rights and inheritance of family members of the donor, thus ensuring that he who gives *waqf* and then dies does not deprive his inheritors of their property. This proposition about the share of *waqf* in one’s property is ascribed to the Prophet, who is said to have told it to the conqueror of Iraq, Sadi ibn Abi Di-Waqqas. He asked the Prophet how much of one’s properties should a man bequeath, to which he was answered: "one-third, and even this is [too] much" (Muslim 3:3991).

Endowment deeds articulate two principal aims. Those two purposes are a spiritual benefit and well-being of Muslim community. Spiritually, the donor aims at achieving benefits in the next world through pious endowments (*waqf*). And, socially, property is donated in view of the worldly benefits of Muslim-community such as ritual, cultural and social services (Lev 2005, pp. 53-54).

There are four primary purposes of *waqf* in Transnational Islamic charities: Religious, Social, Educational and Environmental. Individuals, Royal families and

officers do *waqf* their property for these causes. Religiously, the lands or buildings are given as *waqf* by the individuals to Islamic charities for building mosques, religious schools, giving stipends for *Imam*, as well as teachers and students of Islamic studies. Socially, *waqf* foundation of Islamic Charities serves needy and distressed individuals in the form of hospitals, orphanages, vocational training centres, and care centres. In terms of education, *waqf* foundations aim at establishing and running schools, private libraries, media centres, paying salaries of teachers, and administrators; or awarding scholarships to students; funding specialized presses for textbooks or public dissemination of knowledge. There are also *waqf* foundations, which specialise in dealing with environmental goals, such as supplying water for land irrigation in the form of water tunnels, public wells and bathrooms; planting new forests or manage existing ones; managing waste disposal, building guest houses and other public service facilities (Singer 2008, pp. 100-110).

2.4. Summary

Transnational Islamic Charities are faith-based organisations, but they try to continue their humanitarian and development work based on the pattern of a mainstream development organisation. They work on these agendas following the teachings of their faith. These organisations follow the teachings of the *Quran* and *Hadith* to set up human welfare missions as well as use the funding mechanisms suggested by Islam. The aid-mechanisms these organisations utilize for their work includes *zakat*, *sadaqah*, and *waqf*. Each of these mechanisms have detailed theological and social importance, which is very well displayed in the *Quran*, *Hadith* and the governing system of Islamic countries during the era of the Prophet, *khulafa* and the existing Islamic countries.

Highlighting the role of the aid-mechanism in Islam as a determinant of Islamic charities, this chapter justifies their use for the human welfare programmes in the light of various Islamic schools and scholarly discourse. For instance, discussing non-Muslim aid recipients of Transnational Islamic charities, this chapter justifies the use of *zakat* for non-Muslim subjects. In this regard, the chapter concludes that the use of *zakat* for non-Muslim subject depends on which school of thought the organisation is following. In addition, describing the use of *zakat fi-sabilillah*, this chapter justifies the use of

zakat for alleviating human suffering and to enhance the means of welfare, which is the mission of Islamic charities.

This chapter has discussed how understanding the religious significance and interpretation of the various Islamic sources of funding/donation to Islamic charities is an essential part of this thesis. Besides, it is essential to know about the mobilizing factors of Transnational Islamic charities. How did these organisations move socially towards the achievement of social and humanitarian goals? The following chapter discusses and gives a detailed account of the social factors/movements responsible for initiating Islamic charities' activism.

SECTIONII: Conceptual Frameworks

Chapter 3: Transnational Islamic Charities within the Framework of Social Movement Theory

3.1. Introduction

Social Movement Theory is an interdisciplinary theory. The concept of Social Movement Theory is derived out of concepts of miscellaneous social science theories. This theory explains the causes of social mobilization and the forms under which mobilization takes place, as well as the expected social, cultural and political consequences of these movements. As social movements develop out of the structure of society, they involve various approaches in terms of narrating these movements (DeCesare 2013). Narrating the framework of Social Movement Theory, this chapter gives a detailed account of all those theories, which give a shape to the concept of social movements. The purpose of this detailed discussion is to clearly understand which angles of Social Movement Theory help in understanding the incorporation of Islamic charities within its framework. For a long time, this theory was applied in terms of studying the social movements in America and Europe. It is only recently that Islamic activism/Islamism has been incorporated into the broader debate of Social Movement Theory.

As all social movements need Social Movement Organisations (SMOs) in order to facilitate the actions of movement which are rational and organized. Similarly, Islamic movements need an organisational structure- named Islamic Social Institutes (ISIs). ISIs prompts the causes and develops the goals of Islamic movements. Numerous Islamic charities in the Middle East work as part of ISIs. Here, it is necessary to mention that the term ‘Islamic charities’ is used as an alternative for Islamic organisations that work in terms of Islamic principles- especially for Muslim communities. The fundraising, aid-distribution programmes and development activities of Muslim communities match the traditional Islamic rules suggested by the *Quran* and employed by the Prophet and caliphs (Clark 2004, p. 9).

It is also a fact that not all Islamic charities act as ISIs. This chapter investigates how Islamic charities of the Middle East are used as Islamic Social Institutes within the framework of Social Movement Theory. Furthermore, it examines whether all Islamic charities work as ISIs or not. Before discussing the incorporation of Islamic charities in Social Movement Theory, the first section of this chapter explains its framework. It will help to develop understanding of the approaches of this theory which are relevant to the Islamic mobilization and activism.

3.2. The Framework of Social Movement Theory

The discourse of Social Movement Theory took shape during the late nineteenth century. The treatise of Social Movement Theory is miscellaneous of six main theories: the Deprivation and Relative Deprivation Theory; the Mass Society Theory; the Structural Strain Theory; Resource Mobilization Theory; and Political Process Theory. These theories help us to understand how and why social movements develop.

3.2.1. Deprivation and Relative Deprivation Theory

People who feel deprived of resources, goods and services for basic needs and experience a lack of comfort in their life due to a shortage of capital probably tend to organize a social movement in order to improve their materialistic conditions (Tierney 1982). Unlike the deprivation approach, which is related to people's sense of deprivation in terms of materialistic goods, relative deprivation describes a sense of deprivation or inequality- particularly in relation to others. Under a sense of relative deprivation people suppose themselves fairly entitled to something good and when their expectations fail, they feel deprived. The approach of relative deprivation was introduced by the American scholar Gurr (1971, p. 33-36). Gurr argues that the frustration-aggression and the related aggression mechanisms provide the basic motivational link between relative deprivation and the potential for collective violence. Gurr believes that relative deprivation always encourages violent movements. He contends that those who observe deprivation and undergo the impression of disappointment do not take measures to resolve the problem related to the causes of deprivation because "deprivation" is a psychological state of mind. Here, Gurr has ignored the socio-economic framework which is considered the origin of deprivation.

Gurr's argument is more suitable for comprehending the different observations and states of one individual against another, which consequently leads to crime.

In the case of the deprivation experiences of an ethnic group, community, or region, the prevailing socio-economic framework is the major cause of agitation. In the cases of the worst socio-economic encounters, individual suffering assumes the shape of collective activity. However, the main question is whether this form of collective activity is extrapolated as a demonstration and agitation activity, which also includes protest movements, or it is accompanied by an ideology for the social system and structural change (Bossert et al.2007). Rao (1979, p. 69) argues the social movements launched on the grounds of relative deprivation must be accompanied by ideological and structural targets. In this Rao (1979, p. 88) contends: "A sufficient level of understanding and reflection is required on the part of the participants, and they must be able to observe and perceive the contrast between the social and cultural conditions of the privileged and those of the deprived and must realize what is possible in order to do something about it."

3.2.2. The Mass Society Theory

This theory explores the above: When individuals of large societies feel socially detached and not fully integrated within a society, they launch movements in order to get a sense of empowerment and of having friends or associates. The Mass Society theory is a complex, multifaceted concept. As applied to social movements, however, the basic idea is that people who are socially isolated are especially vulnerable to manipulation by extremists' movements (Buchler, 2013).The theory of mass society extended over the era of the 1750s to 1900s as a result of the rise of industrialization and urbanization. The immediate causes of the rise of mass society theory were the replacement of manual labour with mechanized labour, the introduction of the media industry and socio-political changes. Due to the increased need for workers, the industrial revolution created a new working class and a consumer class called the 'middle class', which included both men and women (Lang 2009). The media industry and other means of communication became accessible to middle-class people.

In the view of Social Mass theorists, the urban middle class comprised of displaced and isolated masses. The worst problems of the displaced class and modernity were manipulated and promoted by the media. To mass society theorists, the media

presents and promotes the worst problems of modernity. The role of the media in the promotion of fascism and communism are good examples. Fascist and communist leaders manipulated the masses using media (newsletters, newspapers, and published literature). The mass society approach maintains the idea that mass media can change cultural norms and power relations, and it can help people participate in world politics (Lang 2009).

Mass Society itself is the society of atomized people who are alienated and isolated individuals, and are victims of powerful elites and massive bureaucracies. When this atomized group of individuals mobilizes for their rights, their mobilization precipitates great mass movements. Thereby, it is manifested that mass movements are the social movements of alienated people who do not believe in the legitimacy of the established order and work against it to extreme levels (Kornhauser 1959, p. 33).

3.2.3. Structural Strain Theory

As stated by Structural Strain Theory, societies are characterized by two basic aspects: culture and social structures. ‘Culture’ can be described as social goals which develop beliefs, values, and identities, whereas social structure holds the institutionalized mean to achieve all cultural goals and realize positive identities. When the structural/social means fail to achieve social goals or the social goals are incompatible with the means made available to the social structure, then a strain appears in the society (Crossman 2017).

The concept of Social Strain was developed by American sociologist Robert K. Merton (1919). In the words of Merton, strain refers to the discrepancies between culturally defined goals and the institutionalized means available to achieve these goals. In this situation, deviance (the act of breaking social norms) occurs as an inevitable outcome.⁴³ Merton’s Deviance typology describes five types of deviant behaviour; the first appears in the form of social influence, which forces individuals to change their personal behaviour and belief(s) in order to fit into the social circle. In keeping with this behaviour, one accepts cultural goals and ways of achieving them. This kind of deviant

⁴³Basically, Merton referred to deviance in light of what was, at the time, the prevailing situation in the United States. He condemned the unequal resources for success in the US, believing that in the US, some people are forced to turn to non-traditional means to obtain the social values. It was from this idea that Merton developed Deviance Typology. This model proposed five different ways that a person could either accept or reject social goals.

behaviour is named Conformity'. The second type of deviant behaviour is called 'Innovation'; this deviance occurs by accepting the goals of a culture but rejecting the traditional and legitimized means to achieve these goals. For example, a member of the Mafia values wealth but employs alternative means of attaining his wealth. Under the third type of deviant behaviour, individuals reject cultural goals but accept the traditional roles in society by practising the routine performance. For example, a person known as a Muslim does not believe in all the principles or commands of Islam, but practices rituals of the religion such as offering a prayer or observing fasts in order to maintain his identity as a Muslim. This type of deviant behaviour is known as 'Ritualism'. The fourth type, 'Retreatism', implies the rejection of both the cultural goals and the means of achieving these goals. Under this type of deviance, one might abandon society by giving up everything and removing oneself from society. The fifth type, 'Rebellion', also involves rejecting goals and means, but rebellion, as opposed to Retreatism, finds new goals and new means, and actively supports a counterculture by replacing both elements of the society with different goals and means (Merton 1938).

Merton further narrates that the aforementioned five deviant behaviours develop social movements because people believe that their society has problems, they experience it, and they feel that they have a solution to those problems. Subsequently, they feel powerful enough to turn their agitation into a movement, and they believe that they should do 'what needs to be done' (Merton 1938).

3.2.4. Resource Mobilisation Theory

In the study of social movements, the Resource Mobilization approach is a major sociological approach. This approach—emerged in the 1970s—placed emphasis on the significance of resources in a social movement. Resources mentioned here include knowledge, money, media, labour, legitimacy, and internal and external support from the power elite. A resource mobilization approach describes how these resources are acquired by the movement members, and utilized for accomplishing the movement's goals.

According to this approach, a group of members in a movement is assigned the responsibility of collecting money, allying the group, and attracting the attention of the media and other social institutions. Resource Mobilization Theory presumes individuals are rational actors who join a movement weighing the cost/benefit analysis; therefore,

they establish formal organisations to create safe resources and to promote mobilization of movement (McCarthy & Zald 1977). In order to foster utilization of movements, these individuals advance interpersonal relations to create social cohesion (Buechler, 1993). The Resource mobilization approach gives a platform to social movements in the form of Social Movement Organisations (SMOs). The purpose of SMOs is not to clash with authorities in an effort to create social change but to maintain or increase membership and resource flow as well as to organize the movement (McCarthy & Zald 1977).

3.2.5. Political Process Theory

Political Process Theory is also known as “political opportunity” describes the circumstances, activities and approaches that help to make social movements achieve their targets. The success of any movement highly depends upon the political opportunities and structures. Political Process Theory was developed by a sociologist in the US during the 1970s. This theory was a response to student movements, civil rights movements and anti-war movements. It presented the activists of a social movement as rational political actors. Political Process Theory forms five main modules that define the realisation or failure of a social movement. These are political opportunities, mobilizing structures, framing processes, protest cycles, and contentious repertoires (Crossman 2017).

The first keymodule, political opportunities, consists of those events and intrusions that challenge the prevailing political scenario. These interventions and vulnerabilities are used as an opportunity by a populace who are against the prevailing social or economic conditions of the system. In some cases, opportunities are determined by the expansion of political empowerment to a suppressive class of the society e.g women, black people, separating leaders or disrupting political bodies within factions. The second module, mobilizing structure, is about those organisations that provide a complete network to the movement including leaders, members and means of communication. These organisations include non-profit Organisations, religious sites, student groups and unions. Through the third module, framing process, leaders of an organisation respond to some basic questions regarding their movement, for example what are the fundamental issues being addressed by their movement? Why do they consider change necessary? What changes are desired? What is their ideology

of change? And how it can be achieved? McAdam (1996) describes the framing process as "conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that are legitimate and motivate collective action" (McAdam 1996, cited in Caren 2007).

Political Process Theory determines protest cycles as the fourth crucial module of expressing demands and extending ideology of any movement. Protests cycles create unity and solidarity among the members of the movement and develop awareness and understanding about the ongoing movement on a large scale amongst people. In this manner, it offers a chance for fresh recruitment. Alongside protests, some other means of expression by a movement are required such as strikes, petitions and demonstrations and this is the fifth module of Political Process Theory. All these means of movements are collective and called contentious repertoires in Political Process Theory. According to the Political Process Theory, the presence of all these elements in a movement reflects desired outcomes (McAdam 1982, p. 55).

The main purpose of the aforementioned discourse about different theories of social movements is to understand their relevance to Transnational Islamic charities. It is essential to understand that all these above-given concepts do not necessarily shape the structure of Islamic charities, but some of them are the essence of the Islamic movements and transnational Islamic charities.

3.3. Social Movement Theory to Transnational Islamic Charities

Defining social movement, two prominent scholars Donatella Della Porta and Maris Diani (2006, p.140) argue Social Movement is a faction of wordily systematized individuals or organisations working in the direction of shared mutual goals regarding social change and human society. They argue that Social Movement may be defined as a collective challenge by people with common purposes and solidarity is maintained in a sustained interaction with elites and authorities.

Islamist movements are considered social movements because they place emphasis on the political nature of Islam with the help of *Quranic* interpretations and strategies. In addition, Islamic movements instigate political change and aim to improve the social welfare of Muslims. These attributes place them comfortably in the category of Social Movement Theory. For positive results and sustained achievements, a

movement needs an organisational structure- known as a Social Movement Organisation (SMO). In basic terms, a Social Movement Organisation is the formally organized component of a social movement. SMOs are distinguished from other types of formal organisations by two criteria. Firstly, they have some political goals and, to reach them, they mobilize their supporters into collective action. Their objective might be to achieve a collective good or to remove a collective ill from the society (Karagiannis 2005).

In terms of Islamic social movements, for systematic running, these movements organize Islamic Social Institutes (ISIs). The rise of ISIs is linked to two facts in the history of Middle East. The first is the growing influence of Western, secular NGOs in the region. In response to increasing Western trends and also in Muslim regions the increasing activities of Christian and Western NGOs (in the name of humanitarian assistance) provoked passions among Muslims as their own organisations were inherently Islamic in nature including fundraising, aid distribution and development work. This subject will be discussed further in the following section, in the context of changing economic patterns in the Middle East in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The second content in which Islamic Social Institutes can be placed is in terms of the rise of Islamic activism or Islamism in the region. In particular, the *Salafi* movements which began at the end of the nineteenth century and are considered to be Grassroot-Islamism. In order to eliminate the increasing encroachment of secular states on the domain of religious authorities, and to revive the role of religion in society, the Islamists organized their movements by establishing moderate groups. For instance, the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 is associated with this process of Islamism in the Middle East (Clark 2004, p. 5-6).

3.3.1. Structural Strain Approach as an Immediate Cause of Islamic Activism

The Structural Strain Approach is derived from functionalist Social Psychology, which assumes that system equilibrium is essential for a healthy society. Disequilibrium in social goals and institutionalization are seen as a means to achieve these goals and produce grievances, rage and reaction in a society resulting in either a change of social goals or social institutions. Such discrepancies can be caused by social frustration and political disability. The theory of mass society argues that structural strains produce psychological discomfort in the form of social alienation, despair, and anxiety. This

psychological sense of isolation and helplessness in the face of big changes in society instigates the joining of social movements by individuals (Wiktorowicz 2004).

Movements are, thus, perceived as a survival mechanism through which individuals alleviate psychological discomfort, and regain empowerment and a sense of 'being in the right place' (Lang 2009). The logic of the structural strain approach dominates much of the study on Islamic activism. A secular modernization approach and development in the post-industrial revolution introduced western modernization models in to Muslim countries of the Middle East prompting economic development. Incorporation of a Western educational system, language, clothing, and foods into Muslim countries was a cultural shock for common people, while the elite class took advantage of this change (Wiktorowicz 2004). By the late 1960s and early 1970s, a large number of people migrated from rural areas to urban areas for employment and as a result of this socio-economic transformation. This created unemployment, inflation, housing shortages, the expansion of small towns, and the growth of unwieldy 'mega-cities' such as Cairo, Tehran, and Algiers. At the same time, prices of basic commodities inflated, whereas real wages and the ratio of employment declined. Along with a failed economic malaise, it was also politically a time of devastation and there was a bitter Arab defeat in 1967, all these factors prompted a societal introspection. This narration explicitly interprets that socio-economic factors are the underlying causes of Islamic activism (Waltz 2000).

Regarding Islamic movements, there are three 'strain explanations', including Socio-Economic Strain Explanation, Cultural Strain Explanation, and Political Strain Explanation (Wiktorowicz 2004). Some scholars argue that, under socio-economic constraints, recruits of movements migrated to urban areas which were a new environment with different values; they left their rural roots and family behind. In a new environment, they also became vulnerable to the Islamic message of tradition. Due to all these factors, they suffered a sense of social alienation, which falls into the category of psychosocial pressures created by the socio-economic crisis (Ibrahim 1996, pp. 27-40).

The other argument under the strain approach, regarding Islamic movements, is that Islamism is a response to cultural imperialism. According to this argument, western culture influences Muslim countries through a variety of political, economic and military sources. Snow and Marshall (1984), who first published the inclusion of Islamic activism in Social Movement Theory, argues that Islamism is used as a response

to extending western trends in Islamic countries (Wiktorowicz 2004, pp. 7-8). Snow and Marshall's ideas follows those of Islamists who approve of Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations", in accordance with mobilization, it is a response to Western desires to undermine the culture of Muslim societies. In Huntington's view, this Western desire for cultural infiltration will lead to deeper problems in various spheres of social life, including economics, politics, and military defence (emphasizing their grievances and goals). Thereby, they intend to restore and maintain a cultural identity (Wiktorowicz 2000).

The initial reaction of Muslims against European cultural imperialism developed in Egypt in the late nineteenth century and was expressed in the form of *Salafiyya* movement⁴⁴. *Salafis* refer to their movement as a movement for re-Islamization. The re-Islamization policy of the *Salafiyya* movement believed that Islam is *din-wa-dawla* (religion and state); Islam is a comprehensive system and code of life, encompassing all things- individual; societal; political; material; and spiritual (Esposito 1988, pp. 12-17).

The third, Political Strain Explanation means that political strains occur in a society where people lack political power, and the power rests in authoritarian rule. Said situation was prevalent in the Middle East during the time of decolonization. People felt frustrated when they had no political access or only a few channels of political recourse to reduce the effects of modernization and a deteriorating quality of life. Since political movements were banned under most authoritarian regimes, Islamic activism became a natural vehicle for political discontent. All these above-mentioned strains contributed to the remarkable development of Islamic NGOs/Charities. The regions' poorest countries such as Jordan, Egypt and Tunisia needed an alternative to state inefficiency to counter the weaknesses of social development ensuring neo liberal rules.⁴⁵ In these countries, Islamic Institutes filled the vacuum created by defunct state polices. The second factor contributed to the speedy development of Islamic charities, was a flow of foreign funding to the countries of the Middle East out of the fresh donor policies of western countries to the social development sector through NGOs. To face the challenges and to

⁴⁴Adherents of *Salafism* consider the Prophet Muhammad and his first four successors the rightly guided caliphs; therefore, they want to re-implement the ideals of Islam as they were believed and practiced during the era of the Prophet and his four caliphs.

⁴⁵Urban social setup of these countries was already under a heavy burden of population growth as well as migration to urban areas. Specially the countries which were lacking constitutional governance like Palestine and Lebanon there was acute need of organized and systematic self-help type services.

save the region from the secular type of NGOs, the community and states of the region encouraged the growth of NGOs but maintained Islamic influence on the activities (Wiktorowicz 2004, pp. 7-13).

3.3.2. Islamic Charities as Social Actors and Mobilizing Structures

Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) views social movements as being rational and practical collective actions. This approach argues that grievances are ever-present, however; the socio-psychological approach to social movements is not valid and enough in all the cases to address the suffering of human beings. Therefore, there must be intermediary variables that translate individualized discontent into an organized line of reasoning. A resource mobilization approach presents these variables in the form of an organized structure and mechanism that provides strategic resources for sustained collective action. For RMT, the resources and structure can be provided through formal Social Movement Organisations (SMOs) (McCarthy & Zald 1977). RMT urges on the subject how social movements recruit and mobilise individuals, raise money, and train members and so on. RMT views social movements as an organised manifestation of collective action rather than a collective behaviour of provoked and furious individuals who come together to counter the structural strains. In the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia, professional and student associations as well as charitable societies and cultural centres have remained a mobilising factor for the emergence of Islamic movements (Wiktorowicz 200).

The scholars, who support Islamic movements as a part of Social Movement Theory, highlight the importance of organisational resources in Islamic movements. They believe that Muslim societies should use mosques as a mobilizing organisational resource for religious practices. Mosques contain a structure, and within this structure, Muslims offer sermons and lessons; they propagate their message, organize collective actions, and recruit new members for actions and movements. Islamic non-governmental organisations (Islamic charities) constitute another set of widely-used Islamist meso-level network of charity societies, cultural, medical and educational centres which are well-organised in their structure. Within these organisational contexts, not only the socio-economic problems of Muslim societies are addressed, and social services are provided- but they are also used as a channel of communication to propagate the ideology, and, additionally, to recruit followers (Wiktorowicz 2002).

3.3.3. Political Process Theory to Muslim NGOs/Charities

Political opportunity spotlights the environment that plays a role in the rise of movements. This theory does not deny the necessity of grievances and resource mobilization for a movement, but at the same time, it stresses the utilization of political opportunities as an opening gate for agitations and movements. These movements emerge as a result of the failure of existing institutions to respond properly and efficiently to the heavy social changes including political rifts, economic depression and social needs (Karagiannis 2005). In that situation, these movements introduce a framework and with the help of mobilizing structure produce an alternative to the existing feeble orders. In the process of Islamic social movements, Islamic NGOs play the role as a mobilizing structure of these movements. For instance, NGOs played an important role in the ongoing Palestinian movements for liberation by mobilizing the rural population, speeding up the process of change, working for the cause of a community of people. People of Palestine consider these NGOs as an alternative to the religious and political radicalization.

Most literature confirms that Islamic charities for social development and humanitarian assistance are thought of by people as a component of social service and social safety. In the face of the increasing system of privatization of education and health, the services provided by Islamic NGOs (mostly free of charge) are valued by poor sections of the public who can hardly afford privatized social deliveries. They take it as an alternative to the established expensive institutes who are responsible for the decline of public sectors. Development discourse asserts that the social development organisations whether secular or faith-based help achieving social and economic means of self-sustenance. Rehman (1993, pp.67-73) asserts that ‘these organisations help people to use their abilities and participate in the social setup as a contributor and beneficiary’.

In the Middle East, the growth of Islamic NGOs was a collective effort of individuals and governments against the neoliberal policies of the West, the World Bank as well as political liberalism and political radicalization by Western countries. Besides, the conservative governments of the Middle East helped Islamic NGOs system to grow as a safety valve for counterbalancing the likelihood of social unrest caused by upshots of neoliberal policies and to shift the burden of social provisions from the state to individuals (Bayat 200).

The typology of Islamic NGOs suggests four types of NGOs in the Muslim world based on the rational, the philosophical, and the active. The religiously-motivated NGOs are inspired by religious obligations and religio-political factors, and they are organized by religious figures or religious communities. Hezbollah is an example of this organisational structure. In the 1980s, Hezbollah began development plans to offer medical care, hospital treatment, electricity and water supply schemes. It also paved roads, built houses, managed sewerage systems, set up gas stations and sports centres. It provided aid and interest-free loans to needy families, repaired war-damaged houses, and attended to the needs of the daily Shi'a population which was a priority point of intervention (Bayat 2000).

The NGOs managed by the middle-class are called 'professional NGOs'; these NGOs are basically organized for humanitarian assistance, but they can shift to political activities, for example, the Muslim Brotherhood. Since its establishment in 1928, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has encouraged charity work. It established a Bureau of Charity, under which it established several schools, and provided medical services, food, and clothing for the needy. It aimed at providing social justice and social security to everyone (Bayat 2000).

Surprisingly, a high number of benevolent organisations in Jeddah were founded on behalf of members of the Royal family. The Princess and Prince engage in voluntary work as members of a board of welfare associations or benevolent organisations. As patrons, they offer some kind of protection to these associations through their reputation and often financial support. At the same time, the system allows members of the Royal Family (as with the merchants) to establish good relations with the local community and to strengthen their good reputation. It secures their status in the society and within the elite class. In addition to donations collected by Saudi Public campaigns, some members of the Royal Family have their own charity organisations. Those activities include the Alwaleed Bin Talal Foundation and the Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz. These organisations focus on development-oriented projects like building schools, mosques, or drinking water facilities (Al-Yahya & Fustier 2014). The late twentieth century has witnessed the growth of people led Islamic charities in Saudi Arabia such as that of the International Islamic Relief Organisation. This organisation was created by a business group who were struggling to find ways of facilitating their donations which they wanted to give for relief work in Afghanistan and to help displaced Afghani people.

3.4. Summary

A social movement is a multidisciplinary theory which includes some major theoretical approaches in order to understand the disposition of different movements. The discourse on the sociology of Islam defines Islamic activism to the social movements within the framework of social movement theories. The major social movement approaches used by different scholars for the better understanding of social activism are basically five: Relative deprivation, Mass Society, Structural Strain, Political Process and Resource Mobilization Theory. By the middle of twentieth century, the discourse on the sociology of Islam had started highlighting the study of Islamic activism. In this relevance, various theoretical frameworks are used to understand the nature and background of Islamic activism and mobilization. Some analysts have referred to Social Movement Theory as a framework to study Islamic movements and activism.

This chapter conceives Islamic charities are a form of Islamic activism or in other words as mobilizers of Islamic activities. This chapter discusses the structure and activities of Islamic charities, which work as a mobilizing factor of Islamic activism. This study elucidates three theories of social movements as the best explanatory material to the understanding of Islamic charities: Structural Strain Theory, Political Process theory, and Resource Mobilization Theory. These three theories collectively discuss the situation, process and method of mobilization of Islamic charities.

The basic purpose of charity mobilization was to provide a humanitarian and social advantage to common people, and the welfare and development of Muslims all around the world. With the amalgamation of religion and development, they approached the venture. The following chapter conceptualizes the nexus between religion and development that helped Transnational Islamic charities to set up their missions for social development and humanitarian assistance.

Chapter 4: Religion and the Social Development Nexus

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is the part of the conceptual framework of the dissertation. It addresses the bond between religion and social development. Additionally, the chapter highlights the role of faith (religious belief) in such a manner that is suitable for people concerned about charitable giving. It also reveals how development projects are implemented from a religious and ethical perspective. The impetus for this chapter is derived from the fact that all religions have an aid zone, which is currently amalgamated into the mainstream development sector and needs to be understood in an academic and scholarly manner. The second motivation for this chapter is the role of Islamic Charities, which are growing massively in number and embarking on social development agendas throughout the world.

Thus, the aim of this chapter is to provide a nuanced account of religious humanitarian and social development activities by explaining the theology of Islam, the growth of the Islamic charity, and Islamic-social development sector through which these social development activities take place. The contributions to this chapter are not beyond criticism, but the content of this chapter reveals the potential of religious organisations and particularly Islamic organisations in the development and aid arena.

This chapter addresses four key questions: (i) why and how religion is involved in the development sector? (ii) What are the contributions of religion to human development/social development? (iii) What is standing of Islamic Charities in the matter of interlink between religion and social development? (vi) What are the key areas /activities of Islamic charities and how do they contribute to the aid sector/mainstream development?

Additionally, this chapter aims to reveal the contributions of Islam to the development sector and highlighting the role of Islamic charities in this regard.

4.2. Defining and Conceptualizing Religion

When the question about the sociology of religion arises, the religion is characterized by social anthropologists in terms of the social activities of the believers.

Anthony Giddens (2001) describes religion as ‘involving a set of symbols linked to rituals or ceremonies engaged by a community of believers’ (Deneulin & Bano 2009, p.58). The cultural and social anthropologist Geertz (1973, P. 99) defines religion on an identical pattern to Giddens. He says “Religion is a system of symbols which act to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in people by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic”.

Similarly, Martin Marty (2000, p. 11) identifies five phenomena to illustrate religion. In his words, ‘religion focuses ultimate concerns of people, builds community, appeals to myth and symbols, it is enforced through rites and ceremonies and it demands certain behaviours from its adherents’. These definitions of religion and the term ‘religion’ itself are particularly ‘Eurocentric in nature’; however, there is a common understanding about religious thought (Holenstein 2005, p. 7). Most of the religions as a system of beliefs and practices relating to a supernatural being and collections of necessary concepts and ideas to answer peoples’ existential questions and to meet human needs. All religions are based in two ways through which they affect the human being. The first way relates to spirituality and the second way is a social phenomenon that works through modes of institutionalization on a state level, a civil society level and a socio-political level (Haynes 2007, p.13).

This second way relates to the description by Marty (2000, p.45) “the collective wisdom of the world’s major religions makes quite clear that unless more than a mere improvement of people’s material conditions is aspired to, even that goal will fail.” Human beings cannot, as Christianity teaches, “live by bread alone”. This note concludes that religions are concerned about human development and its significance in the lives of people, both in the developing and the developed world. This welfare and humanitarian work, under the doctrine of religious beliefs, is conducted by Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs,) which exist over the entire world, as non-state actors and providers of basic social services to the needy (Haynes 2007, p. 15).

4.3. Defining Social Development

The term development and the idea of development are not ancient. It was just after the World War-II that this idea appeared on the international agenda. Initially, it was believed that it is the job of governments to put in place and carry the important and

imperative policies and programmes to beget economic and social development. Here, it is necessary to mention that in this thesis the term social development is interchangeable with the word human development.

Social development implies improving the well-being of individuals in society so they can obtain personal capabilities and reach their full potential in their social life. Social development is a way to social equality so that all citizens can work for the achievement of their positive ambitions and goals with confidence and dignity. Social development talks about the ways people can eliminate suffering and move to the path of well-being. The concept of social development is based on this idea that every individual must have an opportunity to obtain, develop and utilize their skills to their maximum potential so that he or she can contribute to his or her family and community in a meaningful way. In this connection, social development projects include health and education as their basic priorities because if people are healthy and well educated, they are better equipped to meet their basic needs for themselves and their affiliated groups (Brunswick 2009).

Additionally, social development insists on a child care system because a successful society depends on a well-planned child care system. In addition, other social investments which can build a better society and contribute to the economic prosperity include building the integrity in a community, protection of orphans, providing a secure life for families, taking care of civilians, assisting displaced people and refugees. Social development promotes social inclusion of the poor and the vulnerable segments by empowering them, building cohesiveness and resilient societies, and making institutions accessible and accountable to the citizens. As it is discussed above, that in the contemporary era, this task of social development is not only a job of the state or government, but of civil society and non-governmental organisations who contribute to serving humanity (KM n.d.).

Coming back to the content of this research, there is an emerging consensus that the mainstream development sector is undertaking the mission of social development. Within religious societies, the potential of religion can be utilized for this job, which has long been under-utilized and in this connection, faith-based entities can maximize its chances to achieve successful social development.

4.4. Bond between Religion and Sociology

Acceptance of the linkage between religion and sociology, on a global level, is not much an old initiative. For a long time, sociology and religion were regarded in the West as emphatically separate concerns. Religion was regarded as tied to mere spirituality and the notion of sociology was tied to both secularization and modernization (Haynes 2007, p. 53).

In addition, the dominance of modernism in sociology also lost the importance of religion in social science. With times changing in the field of social science, some social scientists initiated the analysis of the social merits of religion. Among them, scientists Emile Durkheim and Max Weber studied the phenomenon of religion and found the principle architecture of modern social science (Salehin 2011).

Durkheim identified the social origin and societal role of religion. His purpose was to identify some social and empirical common concepts of all religions of the world and go further than the notion of spirituality and supernatural (God). Durkheim found religion to be the most important social institution of humankind having a distinctive appreciation for collective consciousness. Durkheim admitted that religion was superseded by science still he believed that religion was a pillar of modern society as modernism was just a phase and a period of transition. He argued that most of the social constructs of the world, if not all, have origins in religions. Durkheim's work on religion is not free of criticism yet his work was widely admired because of its novel theoretical propositions and argument (Allan 2013, pp. 25-2).

Weber was the second most prominent scholar who identified religion as one of the fundamental potencies in society and combined sociology of religion and economic sociology (Allan 2013). Weber argued that ascetic Protestantism was affiliated with capitalism and the nation-state contrary to Karl Marx's historical materialism, Weber accentuated the significance of cultural impacts rooted in religion as a way of comprehending the origin of capitalism. In his analysis, Weber concluded that Calvinist religious ideas had an influence on the social innovation and development of the economic system (Bendix 1977, p. 285).

These two scholars proposed religion as a significant component of social reality which merits attention and proper practice for social wellbeing. This thesis also relates

to a case where religion plays the role in an institutionalized form of development engagement and practising social welfare affairs (Borchgrevin & Erdal 2017).

The secularization thesis assumes that religion would lose its worth from people's lives as societies become advanced and developed. However, this thesis is proclaimed wrong by an American sociologist Joseph Berger⁴⁶ (1924) who was once the strongest defender of the secularization thesis. Following Berger's views, Deneulin and Bano (2009, pp.53-54) argue that 'global resurrection of religion' has increased the influence of religion in the developing and the developed world. They support their argument by quoting some major global incidents, such as the influence of Protestantism within American politics, the interest of world political leaders like the Pope, the Iranian Revolution in 1979, the role of the Catholic Church in the demise of Communism, and the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States. In their opinion, these examples are solid evidence of the reality that religion has not lost its public significance in the contemporary world.

Despite supporting arguments regarding the links between religion and sociology, the concept regarding the amalgamation between religion and social development still needs more research and to make the arguments authentic. Basically, the contradiction lies with the secular approach of social development. In this context, especially the concepts of human rights which are always the main point of clash between religion and development. Concerning human rights, the issues of women rights, for instance, the rights regarding abortion, rape, violence and rights in work and education for women, all create a divergence of opinion and action between religion and ideology of mainstream social development. Similarly, in the field of education, there was an initial conflict in the religion based education system because religion-based educational institutions are run by missionaries and mosques. However, currently, religious institutions are trying to improve education within their schools and attempting to synergize curriculum with mainstream development requirements of the education system.

⁴⁶Joseph Berger (born 1924) is an American sociologist and social psychologist best known for co-founding expectation states theory. Expectation states theory explains how individuals use social information about one another (such as race, gender, or specific skills) to create informal status hierarchies in small groups.

4.5. Faith-Based Organisations in the Social Development Sector

With the commencement of the twenty-first century, the international community set the global challenges as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to be achieved with the deadline of 2015. The programmes were more focused on the developing world, such as Africa and South Asia. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development emphasized the involvement of various societal actors, both secular and faith-based on the achievement of development outcomes. The World Bank suggested an active collaboration among poor people, the middle class and other groups within the society; and their links to the wider changes in the style and outcomes relating to governance.⁴⁷

However, the bank did not specifically mention faith-based organisations in the 2000-2001, the then president of World Bank, James David Wolfensohn⁴⁸, who was already involved in dialogues with the religious communities and organisations for their participation in the development activities, paved the way for the FBOs to attend the MDGs meetings. This meeting brought together the leaders of world faith communities, faith-based organisations and religious philanthropists for the discussion. The main themes of the MDGs were poverty, HIV/AIDS, gender, conflict and social justice. Participants spoke about the various dimensions and the development ramifications of globalization, as well as its differential impacts on rich and poor countries. The significant point of this meeting was that for the first time it gave recognition to the world's faith-based communities accepting that they were key players and workers with the mainstream secular development sector (Marshall & Saanen 2007, pp. 23-31).

Identifying the worth of faith-based organisations, Wolfeshon recognized that around the world, secular organisations and faith-based organisations have similar issues and concerns to deal with including; (1) improving the conditions of poor people

⁴⁷The focus of the World Bank was ordinary people and to make it possible for the involvement of ordinary people in development work which would enhance participation of the representative organisation of the people, such as public administration, legal institutions and public service delivery for a more efficient and accountable result and for all citizens.

⁴⁸James David Wolfenshohn played an instrumental role establishing dialogues with religious communities at different levels, such as the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD) (1995), the dialogues with the World Council of Churches (WCC) and helping to establish the Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics (DDVE) (1998). The purpose of DDVE was to take the initiative in holding dialogues with faith institutions with regard to development issues and working with those institutions that are facing complexities of ethical issues because of globalization.

(2) providing material assistance to the materially alienated people (3) utilizing human potential for development purpose (World Bank 2001).

This detailed account of initiatives explores the approval of the international community and strategies concerning the bond between development and religion. The study investigates three main categories of the development activities of the world religions. The first strategy is related to missionary work in the Christian tradition and Da'wa activities in the Muslim tradition. The second and third strategies are charity work and political engagements respectively. This study reveals that religions exercise these three strategies to achieve development objectives; social, economic and political. Regardless of the applicability of these traditional strategies, the two goals which make religion a participant of modern development activities, and at its core a supporter of the world community organisations, is institutionalization and poverty alleviation efforts (Deneulin & Bano 2009, pp. 63-72).

There are five common concerns and goals of the development activities of faith-based organisations; fighting poverty, services provision, popular regard for religious leaders as guides for the development initiatives, building faith communities and community organisations and ethical and moral issues. Fighting against poverty and institutionalization and the FBO's bring about the modern development actions and religion as a core supporter to achieve the development goals of the world community and organisation. Fighting against poverty is a key issue for each of the world religions. Similarly, Islam also addresses poverty issues and, in this regard, it is concerned with three categories of deprived people: those who are excluded, those who suffer, and those who are materially poor. Islam has a number of mechanisms to mitigate the suffering of these three categories of people, which will be elaborated in the next section of this chapter.

Institutionalization of development activities of world religions, which are known as FBOs, is recognized by the prevailing world order for its identical concerns to secular organisations in the attainment of human development goals. These identical concerns not only match in the improvements of both education and health sectors, but also in relation towards the provision of humanitarian relief, social safety nets for the poor and deprived in society, and support for children without parents and the disabled (Haynes 2007).

The most significant analysis concerning FBOs by the World Bank and the Latinobarómetro Poll reveals that most people in developing countries trust more FBOs as compared to the secular organisations, government and even police because of weak governing policies and infrastructure. Therefore, in order to obtain an effective outcome of the development programmes in the developing countries, it is crucial to place trust in these agencies (faith-based organisations), which are reliable for the people in the community (Narayanan 1997).

When the matter comes to the point of involving faith in development, secular organisations face certain complex issues and it becomes inevitable for them to prove to the community the significance of development work (particularly in the field of education, health and gender issues) to fit in with the ethical and moral tenets of the religion (Marshall 2006). As it is discussed above, health issues were one of the eight MDGs and the most prioritised development issue. As religion plays a central role in society and cultural life of people consequently under millennium development goals, this responsibility is shared with FBOs. As these organisations have a community standing to address, the sensitive nature of health issues of local people in their regions meaning having a cultural and religious affinity, the role of the FBOs in affiliation with world development organisations is crucial. This synergized policy between the FBOs and secular development community regarding health issues is in practice worked on by those both national and international levels (Alkire n.d.).

On the part of Muslim countries, the best example in this connection is a comprehensive report jointly produced in 2005 by the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (ISESCO) and the United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF). The report insisted that governments of Muslim countries should address the problems of children ranging from starvation and disease to education and protection and that these issues must be dealt with the help of non-state actors including religious entities (UNICEF 2005). Furthermore, with the help of faith-based organisations the advocacy campaign could be a more effective strategy to facilitate project as these FBOs are well known in understanding local cultural settings and the socio-cultural and religious perspectives of the issues (Esack 2004).

Education and literacy is also the corner stone of development for any country. Indeed, there is a widespread call for increasing international spending on educational

provision. The main objective of education has always been to enable students to be self-sufficient and capable of living their lives in an improved manner and to be responsible citizens. Now one of the perceived means of education is that children and adults should receive an education that includes steps involving a non-violent approach to conflict resolution, acceptance of diversity, peacebuilding, tolerance and an understanding of sexuality issues to combat political extremism and terrorism (Krueger and Maleckova 2003). This is a unique idea of learning, but it is a top-down initiative in which top-class organisations undertake the responsibility of educational institutions with different environmental backgrounds and mindsets and have an understanding on the matters of sexuality, combating extremism and religious pluralism. Haynes (1998) argues that for the success of these educational initiatives the strategy should not be top-down, but it should have a tendency towards a bottom-top level. The point is that for better results, it requires community participation and the involvement of those organisations, which are familiar with the background of prevailing cultural and religious environment of the region. In this context, the role of faith-based organisations is noted as a significant initiative. This idea does not only support the involvement of the FBO's in the global educational agendas but simultaneously, it recognizes the existence of the FBOs' educational institutions as well.

The literature reveals that most FBOs, particularly, relevant to Christianity and Islam, run missionary schools and madrasahs. Initially, these religious education schools run by the FBOs or Islamic parties received a lot of criticism for being socially divisive and breeding grounds for extremism and intolerance because the institutions had strong religious components based on the teachings of holy books. The literature reveals that since international agencies have intervened and brought the FBOs to the surface, as the participatory organisations in the mainstream development work, the FBOs have started paying attention to their educational centres. Now they concentrate on the inclusion of core advanced subject material and skills for a student in order to make them competent and ameliorate the reputation of the FBOs as participants of social development agendas (Haynes 2007).

Concerning disaster relief, western agencies provide a large portion of their development aid, but the guiding principles of their work are derived from the philosophical views regarding the origin of their societies. Therefore, sometimes these philosophical views create fundamental differences in perception between FBOs and

communities for which they wish to operate (Beek 2000). Since western social/political paradigm separates religion from the public sphere, therefore, when they operate in religious societies, they keep the religious orientation far in the background and treat the groups just as vulnerable or needy (Marshall 2001). This is not a wrong policy, but particularly in the Islamic world, the western style of relief work sometimes creates problems for Islamic adherents over the issue of segregation of gender and specific rituals. This highlights the observation that the response to the disaster may include intensification of identity issues and the distinction between those within and outside of the group (Lunn 2009).

Therefore, the advanced development studies and international organisations suggest that disaster aid, whether from international organisations or from within the country itself, must be in accordance with local interpretations and local expectations. In this regard to local organisations, which are familiar with the environment and mindset of the individuals, they hold a significant position (Clarke 2006). In view of this fact, most of the FBO's running disaster relief programmes are being supported by international agencies, however; as the Middle Eastern countries generate funds for their religious organisations, they provide disaster relief from their own generated funds (Mayotte 1998).

After having a detailed discussion on FBOs and their involvement in social development sectors in the above-section, it is crucial to critically analyse the relationship between Islam and the social development nexus.

4.6. Islam and the Social Development Nexus

In Islam, like in Christianity and other religions, caring for others in need and aiding people in being given the chance to grow in a healthy and positive manner is repeatedly insisted upon. This aspect of Islam implies that there is a connection between worship and development-related activities and addresses it to social justice.

This idea of mutual responsibility on a communal level (*Ummah*) and on a social level is used in two terms *ta'awun* (cooperation) and *takaful* (sharing of responsibility). There are numerous references in the *Quran* and the *Hadith* in the context of these two terms. Regarding cooperation and sharing of responsibility to the Muslim *Ummah*, *Surah al-Maidah* quotes "And help one another in righteousness and piety and do not

help one another in evil deeds and enmity" (*Quran* 5:2). In *Surah At-Taubah*, a chapter of the *Quran*, the responsibility of believers to each other is quoted in the following words, "The Believers, men and women, are protectors of one another: they enjoin what is just, and forbid what is evil: they observe regular prayers, practice regular charity, and obey *Allah* and His Messenger (*Quran* 9:71).

According to a *Hadith*, the concept of the cooperation and responsibility for the Muslim *Ummah* is stressed by the Prophet Muhammad as quoted: "In mutual compassion, love and kindness you will find the faithful like a body, so that if one part feels pain, the whole body responds with wakefulness and fever" (Bukhari 3:5665).

Regarding cooperation and responsibility on a social level to all human beings, there are some verses in *Quran*. The *Quran* stresses that righteousness is not in a precise observance of the rituals, but in acts of compassion and kindness. It says that the test for a true belief and genuine worship is that it leads to compassionate living. "It is not righteous that you turn your faces to the East or the West, but truly righteous is he who believes in *Allah* and the last day and the angels and books and the prophets, and spends their money for love of him, on the kindred and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and those who ask for charity" (*Quran* 21:178). Regarding responsibilities to orphans, *Surah Al Baqarah* quotes, "(Their bearings) on this life and the hereafter they ask you concerning orphans. Say: the best thing to do is what is for their good; if you mix their affairs with yours, they are your brethren; but *Allah* knows the man who means mischief from the man who means good. And if *Allah* had wished He could have put you into difficulties: he is indeed exalted in power, wise" (*Quran* 2:220). There is also advice for the protection of rights of refugees in *Quran*, for example, *Surah Hasher* states "But those who before them had homes (in Medina) and had adopted the faith, show their affection to, such as come to them for refuge, and entertain no desire in their hearts for things given to the (latter), but give them preference over themselves, even though poverty was their (own lot) and those saved from the covetousness of their own souls; they are the ones that achieve prosperity" (*Quran* 59:9). *Surah Nisa* also quotes the welfare work in these words, "Serve *Allah* and join not any partners with him and do good to parents, kinsfolk, orphans, those in need, neighbours who are near, neighbours who are strangers, the companion by your side, the wayfarer (you meet) and what your right hands possess: for *Allah* loves not the arrogant, the conceited" (*Quran* 4:36).

Given the *Quranic* admonition to "assist one another" and the words of the Prophet Muhammad, regarding mutual assistance, *takaful* may be understood as an imperative upon Muslim believers (Fischer 2005). Islam takes the responsibility of *ta'awun* and *takaful* seriously and considers it to be the correct approach as suggested by *Allah* and it takes the responsibility of preaching the right path and invites all other Muslims to imitate these actions. This component is included in the *Da'wah* activities. Just as the Christian tradition increasingly included a social justice dimension to its evangelism and missionary work, similarly, now social work has been part of the *Da'wah* activities. However, *Da'wah* is interpreted as an assertion that Muslims, obliged to follow God's call, must respond to their *Quranic* duty to create balance and justice in human affairs. Some Islamic interpretations view *Da'wah* as the responsibility of the entire community of believers to promote what is right and to forbid what is wrong, as this will automatically lead to establishing a just society (Schulze 1995).

Currently, *Da'wah* has been institutionalized by means of various types of organisations, some of them have a transnational influence and some prefer to stay confined to a specific region. The best example of the transnational *Da'wah* based organisation is the MWL, established in 1962 by the Saudi government to unify and spread the message of Islam. Organisations with a more focused agenda in a specific region, like the Muslim Brotherhood, have been more effective. Till the twentieth century, the nature of *Da'wah* work was dominated by the political objectives in three dominating ways; to resist colonial rulers, to resist puppet states, and the same *Da'wah* activities were used by the states against the influence of Islamic political parties (Masud 1995; Deneulin & Bano 2009, p.89). Over time, social welfare merged into the *Da'wah* activities, which meant that the organisation which was engaged in *Da'wah* for religious and political reasons undertook welfare and relief activities as part of their work including free medical clinics, providing food supplies to the poor, subsidized housing, and other forms of mutual assistance, often acting as a substitute for ineffective government services. In this context, the well-known example is the Muslim World League, which integrated social welfare in its *Da'wah* programme by establishing the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia in 1974. With such initiatives, the Islamic welfare activities have been given a new shape in the form of Islamic NGOs and faith-based organisations. Most of these organisations undertake a two-fold responsibility to engage with social welfare activities as well *Da'wah* work. These

organisations spend a substantial amount on health, education, orphans, and improving the living conditions of the people (Deneulin & Bano 2009, pp. 88-93).

Poverty is the main concern of development discourse and Islam also identifies poverty (*faqar*) in the broader socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts. Putting emphasis on spiritual as well temporal affairs Islam assumes it to be obligatory in eliminating socio-economic evils for virtue and maintenance of harmony in society (Farooq 2009). Through the institution of *zakat*, Islam identifies meeting the needs of the members of the Islamic society as *fard kifayah* (social responsibility). Islam claims that the rationale of *zakat* addresses the broader concepts of poverty, which is the root of the majority of all evils. Thereby, with this idea, the institution of *zakat* is a remedy to meet the basic needs including food, shelter, and clothing. Therefore, *zakat* is considered to be a social pillar towards the common goal of social justice, equity and social security this means, *zakat* illuminates a just society, which aims to fulfil the social and economic needs of people by enforcing social obligations, fiscal measures, legal responsibilities and the fair and equal distribution of wealth (Siddiqi 1988). However, there is an extensive criticism of the concept of *zakat*. Many scholars criticize *zakat* as the most complex institution and equally they criticize the relationship between poverty and *zakat*. They argue there is no clear evidence or a success story regarding the impact of *zakat* on society showing the removal of poverty amongst *zakat* recipients. In other words, *zakat* is not making the difference needed on the ground in Muslim societies (Clarke & Tittensor 2014, p. 29). For further interpretation of Islamic development work, it is important to understand the nature of *zakat*, *sadaqah* and *waqf* as development initiatives. The sociology of Islam creates an inter-link between Islam and development, for that it discusses some of the responsibilities levied upon the Muslims towards each other and other human beings. These responsibilities were imposed upon Islamic states and Muslims where they were expected to undertake welfare and development work as a mandatory and implementable responsibility. Among them, *zakat*, *sadaqah* and *waqf* are funding resources of development aid (Haynes 2007, pp. 22-23).

The significance of *zakat* is emphasized spiritually and sociologically in chapter two. However, I have attempted to highlight how Islam places emphasis on *zakat* as an instrument of social development. Islamic jurisprudence declares *zakat* as a right of the poor to the wealth of wealthy people. *Zakat* is declared as a mechanism to eliminate

poverty and destitution of society so that no individual stays hungry and needy and will be deterred from committing crimes in order to fulfil their needs (Deneulin & Bano 2009, p. 94). For the improvement of the institution of *zakat* disbursement needs to be put towards a specific and strong focus of capacity building or by increasing the productive capacity of the poor. Then again, this does not mean that *zakat* should be abandoned as a poverty alleviation tool. Perhaps new and efficient strategies are required and responsible government and non-governmental initiatives are needed.

However, Islamic aid and Islamic development activities are not beyond criticism and prove that criticism even so, this chapter gives a positive account which describes how and why Islamic charity works in the aid sector, what are Islamic aid activities, to what extent does it work with the mainstream development sector and what is the pattern of activities. Additionally, it aims to reveal the potential for Islam to be a constructive addition to aid and highlights the role that provides a basis for the understanding of the work of Islamic Charities.

4.7. Role of Islamic Charities as Development Organisations

The literature explores the work of Islamic NGOs/Charities of the Middle East and how different it is from mainstream development organisations. In 2005, a consortium funded by the Department for International Development (DFID) was formed, which consisted of academic institutions in the UK, India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Tanzania and non-academic and non-governmental bodies, including the Islamic Relief in order to further explore the relationship between faith and development. The consortium wanted to map Muslim NGOs in the UK. However, the consortium was unable to obtain complete information about 56 identified organisations. The study noted that the work of Muslim NGOs is different from mainstream development, which precludes them from the public sector secular organisations. Since the nature of NGOs is Diasporas in nature, they consider thousands as representatives of their communities rather than being part of mainstream development. Similarly, Islamic NGOs of the Middle East have their own system of development initiatives. This separate system of development initiatives employed by Islamic NGOs is because of a fundamentally different approach based on religious guidelines/principles of charity, such as *zakat* (alms), *sadaqah* (voluntary charity), however; these above-mentioned elements of charity are not key elements of mainstream development policy.

The criticism against the development policy of Muslim countries is their pro-Muslim countries policy. It is alleged that certain Muslim countries are making significant financial contributions but the majority of their money goes to fellow Muslim countries. The figures show that this is the case with Turkey and the United Arab Emirates. This point not only criticizes donor countries of the Middle East, but in regard to the Islamic NGOs based in the West, the same kind of criticism skirts the surface accusing these NGOs of focusing exclusively on Muslim countries or on countries with a substantial Muslim minority (DFID 2004). The reason for this criticism against Muslim donors, agencies and organisations is based on the fundamental principles of the modern human development sector, such as neutrality, impartiality and universality. The Muslim NGOs are broadly criticized in the light of above-mentioned points two and three by the Red Cross Code of Conduct, which describes that:

Aid is given regardless of the race, creed or nationality of the recipients and without adverse distinction of any kind. Aid priorities are calculated and based on need alone. In the West, religion can be a guiding, or inspirational driver to provide aid, but must not shape or direct the kind of interventions provided, or be a determining factor about who receives aid and who does not (ICRC 1994, p. 3).

In the face of such criticism, two prominent western-based Muslim NGOs Islamic Relief UK and Muslim Aid UK have sought to align themselves with this development aid culture run by institutional donors, such as Aus-Aid, USAID and the Department for International Development (DFID 2004). Petersen (2011) has labelled this more recent approach as ‘invisible Islam’ and a ‘desacralized’ form of aid.

The continuum nature of Islamic NGOs, charities and movements are not monolithic. They range across a continuum and in recent years many Muslim organisations have emerged that do not see the world in the simple dar al-Islam (House of Islam) and Dar al-Harb (House of War) dichotomy that simply rejects the West. The continuum exists on different explanatory drivers and the three of them are primarily: religion, national interests and humanitarian need. However, modernity and globalization have also made an impact on the aid activities of Islamic NGOs. These are different motivations for providing aid, which might be different for all donors. For instance, NGOs – International Islamic Relief Organisation (IIRO) based in Saudi Arabia and Islamic Relief based in the United Kingdom have different motivations and moves. Furthermore, analysing the ways in which these organisations Islamize aid and

the kinds of Islam they construct in the process. IIROSA promotes an all-encompassing Islam, encouraging an Islamized aid by not receiving aid from western development organisations. On the other hand, Islamic Relief demonstrates a quasi-secular invisible Islam accompanied by an almost secularized aid, which facilitates donations from secular organisations. The positions of these NGOs are best understood as poles in a continuum, stretching from an embedded Islam to an invisible Islam (Petersen 2011, p. 227).

The above discussion is not an endpoint or authority to understand the nature and performance of the Islamic charities based in the Middle East and their linkage with development sector. In order to understand the contributions made by Islamic charities as development organisations, this thesis suggests micro-social analysis of the most prominent Islamic charities of the Middle East. In this regard, this study explores the role of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia (IIROSA) in Pakistan.

4.8. Summary

This chapter explains the involvement of religion in the development sector. In other words, how religion is involved in mainstream development work in an institutionalized manner in the form of FBOs. The main contributions of these FBOs are poverty reduction efforts, health and education sectors and disaster relief activities. This chapter describes the sociological aspect of religions in the light of various concepts presented by some well-known scholars of sociology and anthropology. Besides, discussing the term “social development”, it presents the connection between religion and social development. However, sociological aspects of religion and its benefits were ruled out for a long time due to a secular hold and modernization, but these two could not root out religion from the minds and lives of people. Now as religion is a very obvious reality to most of the people of this world, it is, therefore essential to reveal its worth for development purposes. This chapter explains that in order to institutionalize the sociological aspects of religion for human welfare, religious people institutionalized their work in the form of faith-based organisations.

The Islamic aid organisations based in Western countries as well as in the Middle East have joined the global activities for humanitarian assistance and social development projects in all the above-mentioned fields. However, there are several

misunderstandings and challenges in understanding the role of Islamic charities/FBOs, therefore; there is a need to understand the Muslim NGOs sector through a micro-level analysis. The micro-level analysis of Islamic charities insists on studying all main organisations based in Western countries and the Middle East separately and evaluating their Islamic determinants, work, policy and projects. The step toward micro-level analysis involves individual case studies of these organisations based upon the findings of major Islamic NGOs, and then formulating the common agendas of their function as participants of mainstream development projects and a leading sector in the Islamic world for Humanitarian Assistance programmes.

The next section is a key to this chain to study individually Transnational Islamic charities. The next chapter presents the methodology for the empirical study about the role of IIROSA in Pakistan.

Section III: Role of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia in Pakistan

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

5.1. Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the methodology employed for the empirical research work of this thesis. This chapter discusses the rationale behind the selection of the qualitative research approach for this study. The study seeks to investigate how Transnational Islamic charities are Islamic organisations and what contributions they have made to social and humanitarian spheres. Thus, the major questions of the study are: To what extent and how does the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia contribute to the field of social development and humanitarian assistance in Pakistan? What is the stand of this organisation against the allegations of religious radicalization?

The major research question of the study and the sub-questions focus on the benefits being taken by common people through Islamic charities in general and IIROSA in particular. The nature of research question required qualitative approach for capturing the opinion of the administration of IIROSA Islamabad and the lived-through experiences of the beneficiaries of the organisation in order to provide an in-depth understanding of the social reality. The fieldwork with the help of focus group discussions adds value to the subjective experiences of beneficiaries (participants) from their own perspective.

The interpretative paradigm of the qualitative approach and the data I collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions interpret that all human as well as organisational actions are meaningful and they are to be understood and constructed within the context of social practices (Usher 1996, p. 18). Easterby-Smith describes an interpretative approach as assuming that ‘the world and reality are not objective and exterior, but are socially constructed and are given meaning by people (Easterby-Smith, et al. 2012, p. 21).

5.2. Epistemological Stance

In social research and debates, there is always the probability that personal understanding of the researcher with regards to the social world and the researcher’s social and cultural assumptions could influence their research study (Cohen & Prusak

2001; Alan 2012). The reason for these questions is that many fundamental issues in social science are epistemological in nature. The nature of knowledge with respect to these issues maintains the capacity for investigation and proper means for acquiring knowledge so as to differentiate between reality and falsehood. Applying subjective observation and experiences without understanding the epistemological principles of that issue could result in having no authentic results. Heylighen (1993) asserts that epistemology essentially attempts to answer basic questions such as, ‘what distinguishes true (adequate) knowledge from false (inadequate) knowledge?’

Before beginning this research study, I had a subjective knowledge and perception about the international system (pre and post 9/11 era) and the existence and reputation of Transnational Islamic charities in that setup (regarding their social status, work, role). As it was acquired knowledge, it was necessary as a researcher, for me to question my already established assumptions about the nature and role of Islamic charities. Furthermore, in this social world, I, as a Muslim, and having a study background of International relations had already made some assumptions regarding the clash of civilizations in the contemporary international community and its resultant impact. For example, I assumed that Transnational Islamic charities, especially Gulf charities, could not have a strong role in society because of the biased attitude of the western world. Additionally, I had examined various research studies about Transnational Islamic Charities which concluded that the largest and wealthiest Transnational Islamic Charities were involved in the transaction of money to *jihadis* and militants to support their religious agendas (Burr & Collins 2006). I had assumed the role of the research site (IIROSA) in Pakistan to be a radical organisation that tended less towards social development activity. All these assumptions led me to qualitative research questions in the context of the role of IIROSA in Pakistan.

This research does not aim to develop or examine theory (ies), but rather its purpose is to explore and reveal the role of IIROSA in Pakistan regarding its social development and humanitarian assistance programmes as well as its positionality as an Islamic organisation in Pakistan concerning its religious contributions. Therefore, the qualitative research is valid in terms of understanding the existing social structure in which charities are working, and picking up empirical evidence from the perspective of the case study; role of IIROSA in Pakistan (Bogdan & Taylor 1987).

5.3. Research Paradigm and Approach

5.3.1. Research Paradigm

The research paradigm used for this study is “Interpretive research”, however; the research approach is “qualitative research”. The term “interpretive research” is frequently used as a synonym of “qualitative research” yet there are some distinctions between these two concepts. A research paradigm is ‘the bundle of mutual beliefs and arrangements shared between scientists to know how problems should be understood and addressed’ (Kuhn 1970, p. 43). As said by Guba (1990, p. 18), interpretative research paradigms can be characterised by addressing three questions: (i) what is a reality? (ii) How do you know something? (iii) How do you go about finding it out? The purpose is to apply the interpretive paradigm to this research study and to understand the role of IIROSA on a social and experiential level addressing the questions, such as how does IIROSA play its role? What methods are used for its activities and how does it justify its activities in coordination with the contemporary international system? This paradigm helped me to create a link between my knowledge (of Transnational Islamic charities) and the subject of research (IIROSA) and to construct an understanding and add new knowledge to the subject (subjectivist epistemology) (Myers 2013).

This interpretive paradigm led me to form the idea that knowledge is socially constructed and is framed through interaction with individuals within society. Therefore, I applied the interpretive framework of social constructivism by asking research participants (employees and beneficiaries of the IIROSA projects in Pakistan) open-ended questions through interviews and group discussions. This approach allowed the research participants to fully and freely describe their own knowledge and experiences. As a researcher, my role was to listen carefully to their views and interpret the findings based on their background, sharing and experiences. The interpretation of the participants’ experiences revealed a significant amount of information/facts regarding the phenomenon (employees and beneficiaries’ perception) and also offered a new insight into the overall study. Applying the social constructivism framework was most useful in gaining access to the views and nuances that influenced the individual worlds of my research participants (Creswell 2013).

5.3.2. Research Approach

The Social Constructivist Paradigm, which highlights the socially constructed reality, associates this research with a qualitative approach. The qualitative research approach is a strategy and method that entails steps of comprehensive assumption to specified methods of interpretation, data collection, and data analysis (Creswell 2013).

My approach was about recording, analysing data and attempting to gain a deeper and rich understanding of experiences of the beneficiaries of IIROSA in Pakistan, including contradictory beliefs about the organisation. My approach is inductive as I have looked forward to developing a specific concept about IIROSA, which will contribute to the field of Islamic charities regarding their role in social development and humanitarian assistance in general. Additionally, my research initiates a trend of micro-level sociological research of Transnational Islamic charities. Thereby, this research involves a move from specific to general (Debora2013). I collected data in the recording form on the basis of observation and interaction with the participants by means of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Afterwards, I transcribed recorded data and analysed the data into a descriptive form (Creswell 2009).

I tended to use interview methods as per the convenience of participants. I did not direct the methodology or select questions that could lead to a pre-determined response; instead I allowed the participants a high level of freedom so they could give their answers freely with minimal influence and interference. The purpose was to adopt a less formal and more flexible approach towards the participants and give them as safe space to express them. Under this criterion, the whole process of primary data collection was held at workplaces (sites) rather than a place of my choice. The purpose of this qualitative approach was to learn more about the experiences of the participants and the activities and projects of IIROSA and also to restrain my own pre-determined views about the organisation and its activities. Consequently, the data collection methods used was more open-ended and exploratory rather than structured. I tried to go beyond the initial responses of the participants to questions during interviews and focus group discussions and attempted to pose new questions from their responses (Creswell 2014).

5.3. Research Design

This is a case study research design. In the case study, the researcher examines one or a few cases of a phenomenon in considerable detail, typically using a number of

data collection methods, such as document analysis, personal interviews, observation and focus group discussions.

The case study as a research strategy, method or approach is frequently used in social science disciplines, especially, sociology, anthropology, and political science as well as education and psychology. The case study is a research and evaluation study that focuses on specific issues and gives an account of the instances in action and also provides a systematic way by examining events, collecting data, analysing information and reporting results. A case study can be described as a project, a course, an institution or a particular innovation. This strategy covers a limited geographical site and individuals as a focus of study so that the data could be closely examined within a precise framework.

Yin (1984, p. 23) defines the case study research method ‘as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used’. Yin (2009, p. 5) further categorizes three types of case study: Exploratory Case Study, Descriptive Case Study and Explanatory Case Study.

An exploratory case study is conducted for an issue that has not been investigated in depth or more clearly. This research design aims to gain advanced insight into a phenomenon and acquire familiarity with it in order to develop a new concept regarding that case. Exploratory research formulates a more precise and relevant hypothesis through empirical study. In this manner, the exploratory research seeks to learn how people participate in the setting under investigation, it helps to find out peoples’ actions and concerns regarding that issue. Exploratory research is referred to as qualitative research or interpretive research. In an exploratory research pilot study, it is crucial to determine a framework of the study (Rangarajan & Shields 2013, p. 109). Descriptive case study applies elements of both qualitative and quantitative research. Such a study collects data, designates events, and afterwards organizes and describes the collected data (Glass & Hopkins 1984). The descriptive case study uses charts and graphs to manage and understand the data and involves three main purposes of research: to describe, explain and validate findings (Spector et al. 2001).

An explanatory case study seeks to find out the reasons for the specific phenomenon and then on the basis of that forms a theory and then sets out to test that theory. The explanatory case study involves deep level understanding and explanation of the problem (McDonough & McDonough 1997). The explanatory case study uses both qualitative and quantitative case research. An explanatory case study not only studies and explains phenomenon but can also be applied to develop a theory.

Stake (1995) distinguishes three kinds of case studies to the scientific analysis: the intrinsic, the instrumental and the collective. The intrinsic case study is applied to understand the uniqueness of a phenomenon, which differentiates it from all others. The instrumental case study is applied to learn about the particular features of an issue or phenomenon, which might be better than others (Sheikh et al. 2009). The collective case study belongs to multiple cases concurrently or consecutively in order to generate a wide-ranging understanding of a particular case (Pinnock et al. 2008). McDonough (1997) describes two categories: 'interpretive' and 'evaluative' case studies. An interpretive case study is already discussed above as paradigm of research. This type of case study acknowledges that knowledge is a socially constructed reality by human actors (Burrell & Morgalm 1979, p. 28). In interpretive case studies, researchers interpret the data by developing conceptual categories and supporting or challenging the assumptions made regarding them (Ponelis 2015). Evaluative study methods surround the three questions: i) what occurred during the research? It means who was researched, what was the subject of study and what was the method of study ii) what is impact of the research? The question relates to the answer to the expected and unexpected and positive or negative results of the study, and iii) what is the link between the research project and its impact (Balbach 1999).

In this study, my purpose is to investigate the role of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia (IIROSA) in Pakistan. This study covers the role of IIROSA in Pakistan as a new subject of research in the field of sociology of Islam. The research is done through an empirical study involving ideas and concerns of the beneficiaries of organisations regarding its activities. This study also challenges the assumptions made about Islamic charities; this is done generally by constructing a social concept about the organisation by human actors. This study employs the instrumental (Stake1995) the interpretative (McDonough1997) and the exploratory (Yin1984) case study approach.

5.3. Sampling

Sampling refers to the selection of individuals, units, and/or settings to be studied for primary data collection. There are specific types of sampling with reference to the research approach. As this research is qualitative in approach, the designed case study's most relevant characteristics are its purposive sampling technique (Mack et al.2011, p. 5).

Purposive sampling signifies the sequence of planned selection that is with whom, how and where the research will take place. However, the sample size may not be fixed in advance as it depends on availability of time and resources. Ted (2008) has suggested ten kinds of purposive sampling (i) Stakeholder Sampling (ii) Extreme or Deviant Case Sampling (iii) Typical Case Sampling (iv) Paradigmatic Case Sampling (v) Maximum Variation Sampling (vi) Criterion Sampling (vii) Theory-guided Sampling (viii) Critical Case Sampling (xi) Disconfirming or Negative Case Sampling (x) Expert Sampling.

With reference to the design of this research, which is the case study of an organisation, there are two main sampling types: Stakeholder Sampling and Expert Sampling, both are relevant techniques for this research. The Stakeholder sampling method is used for evaluation of the policy work of organisations and institutions. It also identifies the major stakeholders who are involved in the administration, designing, giving and receiving work or who might be beneficiaries or victims of the programmes. While Expert sampling contains those individuals, who have advanced knowledge in that research field and can open new gateways for the researcher to accomplish his/her work more successfully (Ted 2008).

Stakeholder's selection is based on the participants' vibrant position, function and responsibilities within the organisation. The key participants for this research were selected from the administrative, research and financial departments of IIROSA Islamabad and the selected beneficiaries of the projects of the organisation. Additionally, I approached the particular experts for their opinion and recommendations regarding this work. Among these experts, some belonged to the academic field and some came from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Inter-faith dialogues.

5.5. Data Collection

The case study design of research involves multiple sources of data collection. It may involve both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection. The fundamental idea is that the data collected through different instruments should lead to identical results. Therefore, approaching the same issue from different perspectives can assist in growing an all-inclusive depiction of a phenomenon (Stake 1995). As this is a pure qualitative research, the instruments I used for data collections were semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. In order to obtain a rich set of data, I preferred to collect data in two phases; initial and actual. I have discussed these two phases of data collection in the following sections of the chapter.

5.5.1. Initial Research Design for Data Collection

In the initial research design, a researcher tests the instruments of research design. The researcher ensures that the instruments were capable of collecting the actual data on the research topic. The initial research design helps the researcher to develop an adequate, comprehensive and workable instrument (interviews, discussions, questionnaires) for data collection. Taking insights from a research study which employed case study strategy, I used various research instruments for data collection. Semi-structured interviews (both in person and via telephone), focus group discussion (FGDs) were the key instruments for collecting data. In developing the questions/contents for interview schedules and to ensure FGDs were workable and result oriented, I chose a rigorous procedure consisting of various steps. They are discussed briefly in the following sections of the chapter.

5.5.1.1. *Review of Documents*

For this qualitative empirical study exploring the role of IIROSA in Pakistan, first of all, I officially collected and negotiated representative documents such as annual reports, newsletters, monthly magazines published by the MWL concerning the activities of its specialized organisation; IIROSA. In addition, the website information, financial statements, brochures, project documents were also part of the data. These official documents represent the agreed-upon discourses given by the organisation. As this is the era of information technology including social media, the official website of IIROSA played a significant role in accessing official documents. IIROSA is very much centralised, hence it has a website that is run by the headquarter offices in Jeddah.

Majorly, the headquarter website shares information about the activities in Saudi Arabia, and somehow it shares information about its branch offices as well. Though the given information on the website was limited, it provided a clue in basic understanding of the organisation and helped me to develop a comprehensive interview schedule for primary data collection.

Presentations by IIROSA staff members especially those of organisational projects sites and funding system were the most important means for data collection. I visited 20 project sites including orphanages run by IIROSA, affiliated orphan centres, healthcare centres, education centres, mosques and water project sites. The important documents used for data collection were annual reports of the activities of the organisation under study and some other Transnational Islamic charities, policy reports of some International organisations and government reports. These documents are a good source of information about the socio-development and humanitarian activities of IIROSA in Pakistan and they help to compare the work of the organisation with some other secular and Islamic NGOs as a part of the initial source of verification.

5.5.1.2. *Piloting the Research Instruments*

It is crucial to conduct a pilot research in advance of conducting the actual study, this is because a pilot research will support or confirm what the instruments are required for a successful research function. Besides, a pilot study helps to evaluate the feasibility, cost, time and unwanted occurrences during any research work. Thereby, a pilot study helps the researcher to design a complete framework of the study in advance and improve the study design before conducting the full-scale actual research work (Hulley et al. 2007, pp. 168-169).

Bearing this in mind, I undertook a pilot study before embarking upon the larger study. The pilot study helped me to confine the research design to a single case study: IIROSA. Additionally, it helped to confine my work to the activities of IIROSA in Pakistan in view of limited funds and time. Through the pilot study, I set the samples of my research and decided to make the stakeholders of the organisation in Pakistan and experts the main units of my study.

In consideration of all the above criteria, I had to set the research instruments, which were more feasible and practical to administer to the selected group of participants for data collection. I decided to apply the qualitative method of study

conducting semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. While discussing my work with the Director General of the organisation in Islamabad, I also got some broad information about the ongoing projects of the organisation, which gave me prior information about the project sites and the nature of the work. This information made the data collection procedure as well as the process smoother and more workable during the actual phase of research. Since this study relates to the function of IIROSA in Pakistan, therefore, mentioning the activities of head office in Jeddah and branch office in Islamabad, I have used in this thesis the terms IIROSA Jeddah and IIROSA Islamabad.

5.5.2. Actual Research Design for Data Collection

5.5.2.1. *In-depth/Semi-Structured Interviewing*

In-depth/Semi-structured interviewing provides rich information particularly from a small group for a qualitative study. It helps the researcher know the opinions of a small number of influential individuals in terms of their affiliation and authoritative positions in the institution and concerned field of subject expertise. Simply, the key informant interview (KII) is intended for the respondent who retains in-depth knowledge and experience as to the subject under discussion (Seidman 2006, p. 81). Similarly, Vormen (1995, p. 258) argues that semi-structured interviews encourage participants to talk in-depth and detail about the topic. As the present study is a pure qualitative, I used the semi-structured interviewing technique for this research. This technique applies open-ended questions and informal analysis in order to enable a discussion of the problem in a semi-structured or unstructured way. Semi-structured interview techniques are somehow challenging as it is time-consuming and costly, it also requires recording and careful transcription of each recorded interview for analysis purposes. .

Stakeholder sampling, which is specially used for the organisational study, was applied in selecting the respondents of the interviews. The purpose of using that technique was to collect information from the relevant officials and authorities of the organisation in Pakistan. The additional aim of in-depth-interviewing was to provide a chance for the respondent to talk without having predetermined questions and give them the freedom to direct the interview in new but related directions, which proved extensively helpful for the undertaken research work. By means of in-depth-interviews, I tried to explore the assigned responsibilities of the participant in the organisation, the

nature and range of their project, and the contribution of that project to common people. Both kinds of semi-structured interviews: In-person and Telephonic were used for this research.

In-Person Interviewing: I carried out face-to-face interviews and recorded them (with the prior informed consent of the respondents). The main advantage of this kind of interview was that it helped me obtain in-depth and comprehensive data collection. I could understand things clearly asking the interviewee for clarification and explanation to some of the questions. Thereby, I could control and keep the interview focused and on track. During the interview some interviewees were showing me official documents and data which they had not shared before. The additional advantage of the in-person interview was this; it helped me during an interview to take hand-written notes and conduct observations during the discussion. Observing the body language and reaction of the respondent is an additional factor of interviewing (Boyce 2006). Although face to face interviews proved effective, this type of interview became costly as it required travel to various districts scattered in four provinces of Pakistan. Furthermore, it consumed more time in scheduling interviews, pursuing the respondents and compromising them. This required patience and flexibility as any interviewee could change the date, time and place of interview.

Telephonic Interviewing: Interviewing by telephone and online internet calling systems is a time saving and economical common research technique. It is especially useful for collecting data from geographically dispersed areas. This type of interview can be more effective if the participants are informed in advance. If it is conducted in an organized way, it makes no difference between the validity of data obtained through the in-person interview and telephone interview (Gordon & Raymond 1969). I used telephonic interviews for some discussions, especially when I was unable to physically make appointments due to time and budgetary constraints. I talked to the administration of two orphanages Al-Markaz Islami Bannu, Jamia Dar ul Uloom Baltistan regarding their affiliation with IIROSA Islamabad. There are also some disadvantages of telephonic interviews, for example interview cannot be lengthy and answers are not in-depth. The researcher cannot see the body language of the respondents as it is caught during face to face communication and focus group discussions.

5.5.2.3. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

This technique of qualitative data collection involves a group of people in discussion, who are related to the research problem. They are viewed as possessing important knowledge about the particular problem as they are directly involved and have experienced that problem personally. Thus, the direct involvement and experiences of these people is helpful in order to know their experiences, opinions, beliefs and attitudes regarding the problem under investigation (Anderson & Arsenault 2005, pp. 212-213). I used this technique to collect data. I organized seven focus group discussions. Two were held for teachers and students of orphanages run by IIROSA in Islamabad and Mansehra. Two focus group discussions were organised with students and teachers of Jamia Asriyya, Jhelum. Also, I conducted a group discussion with Badar Hospital patients in Peshawar. This technique of data collection proved highly beneficial for my research as it provided me access to and insight into the data which I could not find in the literature. In other words, this technique helped me to verify the collected material and data that I had previously collected from other sources (CTB 1995).

I conducted face-to-face interviews (in person communication) and FGDs over a six-week period. Each interview lasted about 30-45 minutes and the group discussion lasted about 45-60 minutes. Prior to opening the interviews and focus group discussions, the first 5-10 minutes involved explaining to the participants my background, the motive of the research as well as the reason why I chose them as a research participant. The purpose of this explanation was to establish a rapport, build trust, and to observe the surrounding and non-verbal cues of the respondent. For a detailed discussion, I informed them of the supervisor's approval of my research and the consent of the Director-General of IIROSA Islamabad. Most of the interviews and discussions were conducted in the Urdu language, the national language of Pakistan, based on the preference of the interviewees some were conducted in English, Sindhi and Pashto languages as well. Interviews and discussions were managed at the workplace of the participants. At this point, I also requested permission to record the conversation for transcription (Ponelis 2015).

5.5.3. Data Analysis and Interpretation

When analysing data, whichever approach is selected by the researcher, he or she should make the process of analysis as explicit as possible (Shaw 1999). As it is qualitative research, I applied a thematic analysis. The thematic analysis identifies and examines the recorded data in a thematic form. The theme is indicative as the important description in the data which is pertinent to the major research questions. The process consists of transcription, identifying viable themes, comparing and contrasting themes by interpreting and enfolding them in the existing literature (Guest et al. 2010, p. 11).

5.5.3.1. Transcribing and Capturing of Notes

Transcribing comprises listening to each recording and set of notes several times. On this level, the researcher makes detailed notes and highlights potentially vital issues and experiences (Patton 2005). This level familiarises a researcher with the data and prepares the procedure for organising and structuring the data. This level greatly improves the researcher's knowledge of the designs, themes, and classifications in the data (Easterby- Smith et al. 2012). I transcribed all these recorded interviews and discussions in the same order and language in which they were conducted. Afterwards, I reviewed transcriptions and removed the idiosyncratic components of speech from the notes and translated all notes into the English language.

5.5.3.2. Interpreting and Enfolding Findings in the Literature

In order to develop a deeper understanding of the data collected, a Level 2 analysis involves the “clustering” together of findings (Ponelis 2015). The findings are discussed in the context of extant literature; a process that Eisenhardt (1989) calls enfolding literature and the outcome of this level of analysis is the interpretation of the findings. Applying this level, the findings from Level 1 are compared to the existing literature. Several issues reported in the literature were confirmed through empirical findings and some findings were found contradictory to the literature review.

5.6. Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration is a very important factor of research. Research ethics denote rules of conducting research work, conformism to a set of codes and assurance to avoid any likely error that could be harmful to research participants. I tried to address

my research problem referring to proper ethical rules as much as possible. These include the right of research participants to be informed about the purpose of the study, the utility of its findings and the impact the study would have on their lives (Creswell 2013).

People involved in research such as organisations, institutions, funding agencies, focal persons and research participants (employees and beneficiaries) share some common concerns about the research, which must be addressed properly by the researcher. The expected considerations and the standard ethical rules make a researcher ethically responsible in mitigating the risk to participants by the research procedure and protects their rights and welfare as well as obtaining the consent of the participant before conducting interviews and discussions (Anderson & Arsenault 2005, p. 16). Keeping this procedure clearer, and respecting the research site (participants) are also the ethical responsibilities of a researcher as Creswell (2013) mentions that it is important to respect the site where research takes place. I arranged meetings with authorities and sought official permission from the Director General of the IIROSA Islamabad. This approach reflected my concerns about participants' rights to information and privacy.

The research was conducted according to the above prescribed ethical rules. In consideration of ethical rules, the participants of the research study were ensured, that they were not be vulnerable to any risk and this research will not violate their basic humanitarian rights. In consideration of this obligation I have not used the real names of the participants. Most of the participants said they would like their real names to be used, but I, as a researcher, was concerned that at some points my research may address sensitive data therefore I selected the pseudonyms of the participants. The participants belonged to the executive branch, financial branch, field workers and beneficiaries of the organisation. They were all educated people with sufficient social mobility and liberty. However, some participants were hesitant to share information about the Islamic organisation because of security threats inside the country on a sectarian level. In view of such concerns and in order to mitigate this issue, I informed them in detail about the major purpose of the research study and its further usages. In addition, I assured them that their shared information and experiences will be used for only this research purpose and their identities would be kept confidential.

5.7. Summary

Developing the analytical approach delineated in previous chapters, this chapter has drawn on a methodological approach and empirical basis for studying the role of IIROSA in Pakistan. This research is an exploratory case study with a qualitative approach and interpretative paradigm. The purpose of this research is to have a deep understanding and analysis of the Transnational Islamic Charities through micro-sociological analysis. The data collection involves three techniques in-depth interviews, observation and focus group discussions. As the IIROSA administration in Pakistan and the beneficiaries of the organisation are stakeholders, the data were collected through a three-pronged approach including the organisational documents, interviews with the organisation's staff and focus group discussions with the beneficiaries of the organisation.

There are various means of data analysis, but for this research, I particularly used the two levels. Transcribing and Capturing notes are the first level of analysis and the second level are Interpreting and Enfolding findings in the literature. While putting the information into a written form, I have included the findings into literature in order to identify the conclusion of the empirical study.

While doing field work, the ethical conditions were given special heed. In this connection, the main ethical rule is avoiding fabrication of data and promoting knowledge which are primary goals of this research. The following chapter introduces the structure, function and the role of IIROA Jeddah in the pre-9/11 as well as post-9/11 scenario.

Chapter 6: An Overview of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia

6.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia (IIROSA) as one of the largest Charity Organisations within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the backdrop of the development of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia as a relief organisation and its connection to the Muslim World League (MWL). The second part elaborates the social and humanitarian activities of IIROSA. The third part mentions the political affiliations of the organisation in the pre and post 9/11 era. Since the beginning, the political role of IIROSA has been hotly debated in the international community, which brought up different controversial issues concerning this organisation. This segment further discusses various controversies that IIROSA encountered in the post 9/11 era and the subsequent counter strategy it adopted to repel all allegations. In addition, this chapter explores the position of IIROSA in the field of faith-based organisations. The third part narrates the faith-based orientation of this organisation. It discusses how IIROSA adopted Islamic principles and made Islam a central domain of their vision and mission. This chapter helps to understand the position of IIROSA in the international community through its aid ideology and activities.

6.2. IIROSA as a Transnational Islamic Charity

The International Islamic Relief Organisation, which is also recognised as the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia (IIROSA) is a charity organisation affiliated with the MWL. Most of the literature tells us that IIROSA was founded in 1978 by the Muslim World League (MWL) at the 20th session of the Constituent Council and received Royal approval in 1979 (IIROSA 2010). Chapter three discussed the setup of Islamic charities within the framework of Social Movement Theory. I mentioned three main approaches as key joining factors of Islamic activism and its mobilizing structures (Islamic charities) including Structural Strain, Resource Mobilization and Political Opportunity. Besides, I mentioned three explanations of Structural Strain: i) socio-economic ii) cultural iii) political. In terms of IIROSA, the pan-Islamic movement played a role as a political opportunity/process and the Cultural-

Strain Explanation became one of the causes of Islamic mobilization (Ibrahim 1996). It was witnessed in the Horn of Africa where IIROSA along with other Islamic charities worked to resist the cultural influence of secular and Christian organisations. The initial resource mobilization of IIROSA was Saudi business group, who started funds generating activities and provided human capital for the function of the organisation under the leadership of Farid -al-Qurashi who was a professor with doctorate degree from the USA. The first shipment from the organisation was to the Horn of Africa consisting of food, clothes and items for daily use for victimized people. Shortly after mobilizing the resources for IIROSA, Qurashi affiliated the organisation to the MWL and provided the formal distinction to IIROSA as a humanitarian branch of the MWL. Currently, IIROSA presents itself as “the League’s active wing in carrying out relief, health care, educational, economic and social development projects” (Petersen 2011, p. 113).

The IIROSA is a charity institute of the MWL, and a pioneer of humanitarian and relief work for the social and humanitarian development of people worldwide. It implements the *Quran* and *Da’wah* (proselytization) activities as well. IIROSA retains a discrete constitutional set up; it has its own legislative and administrative body and financial entity. The vision of IIROSA is to help to alleviate the miseries of troubled and needy people in an all-inclusive way by using its own means through implementing its projects.

6.3. Resource Mobilization Process of IIROSA

IIROSA refers four key resource mobilization processes in the sense of Social Movement Theory. Two of them, the mobilization of money/funds and the mobilization of human capital/labour, are heavily contingent upon a third, the creation of movement structures, and organizational building (Klandermans & Oegema 1987; Klandermans 1997).

Consistent with the mission statement IIROSA (the organisational building) is working upon a movement of helping disaster victims, displaced people (refugees) and sufferers of famine from all over the world. Moreover, for social development, it accentuates contributions to education, health, orphanages, persons with special needs and social development of various aspects of society mobilizing its money and labour. The organisation is self-reliant in funding and with its funds and labour; it cooperates

with societies and institutions inside and outside Saudi Arabia, having similar objectives of relief and social development (MWL n.d.).

As IIROSA is an international charity working worldwide for relief and social development it ensures implementation of market principles, standards, and mechanisms in such a way that enables it to perform its mission and develop its resources in a pioneering way.

6.4. Social Mobilization of IIROSA Jeddah

IIROSA mobilize its resources across the globe for six following social mobilizations/projects: (i) Social Welfare Projects (ii) Emergency Relief Projects (iii) Community Development Projects (iii) Construction of Mosques and Wells Projects (iv) Education Projects (v) Health Care Projects (vi) Holy *Quran* and *Da'wah* Projects. Brief introduction to and description of these projects is discussed in the following sub-sections:

6.3.1. Social Welfare Projects

The social welfare programme of IIROSA mainly motivates orphan sponsorship; to open and to run orphanages. This programme takes the responsibility of bringing up and educating orphans. Under this programme, IIROSA supports and protects orphans socially, emotionally and economically in the areas of intervention. In making them self-reliant and confident persons in society, IIROSA arranges festival gifts for orphans sponsored by this organisation. *Eid al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha* are two main festivals that IIROSA sends gifts to orphans. Through this programme, IIROSA helps sponsors to reach deserving children who need support for social and educational purposes. Under the social welfare programme, the children are also taught different crafts in order to enable them to earn a decent living in the future. IIROSA claims this programme is a way of demonstrating social solidarity with vulnerable segments of society. Mostly, the IIROSA programme includes taking care of orphans at orphanages that are also established or run by IIROSA. However, it also subsidises other reputable orphanages in host countries by sponsoring a specific number of enrolled orphans who are cared for by reliable charity organisations. At the end of the sponsorship years, at the age of 18, orphans are provided educational and vocational council for their careers and employment. IIROSA also runs a programme for deprived children of society. Under

this programme, children who have lost either one or both parents because of natural or man-made disasters and who are deprived of family care will be supported while they are living with relatives (IIROSA n.d.).

IIROSA also aims to empower the guardian families of orphans in order to improve their financial conditions. To achieve this goal, the organisation provides vocational training to the head member of the orphans' families if they are willing to learn any craft. The categories of vocational training include sewing and embroidery, carpet making, poultry farming, knitting, animal husbandry etc. After completion of training, these women/men are provided with the tool kits and resources for launching their own businesses. In such cases the organisation lends an amount of money to the families of orphans so they can be self-employed, this amount will then be repaid by the acceptor in instalments (Atta 2013, pp. 16-18).

6.3.2. Educational Projects

This is one of the core projects of IIROSA Jeddah. IIROSA carries out some educational programmes, such as student aid schemes, scholarships, establishing educational institutions and subsidising schools and universities. In this educational system, the religious education is more prominent. The organisation emphasises the need for teaching Islamic education, in these terms, it also helps institutions with academic staff. In addition, enhancement and spreading of the Arabic language and culture are also the objectives of this programme. In the meantime, IIROSA is carrying out three main educational programmes: (i) Subsidising educational institutions (ii) Sponsoring teachers (iii) Student aid schemes. By subsidising educational institutes, the organisation supports and runs educational institutes. By sponsoring teachers, it appoints its teaching staff in schools and Quranic circles and through student aid schemes, the organisation offers financial assistance to needy students for their education (IIROSA, n.d.).

6.3.3. Health Projects

IIROSA underlines the importance of health issues for the survival of humanity⁴⁹. The organisation strives to provide health care services to people across the world that

⁴⁹The organisation quotes "Millions of people are dying because of disease, epidemics, and lack of medical attention. The other reason for the increasing mortality rate is the inability to meet bills of medical treatment, lack of inoculation in many developing countries and deprived societies and war, with

are victims of any disease or natural and man-made disasters. IIROSA provides emergency health services to the disaster-ridden areas in various parts of the world. At times of emergency, IIROSA sends medical convoys to distant areas. Furthermore, the organisation sets up and operates hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, pharmacies, laboratories, medical convoys and medical centres wherever health services are needed. These health centres not only work as health resources, but they help the IIROSA branch offices in the respective countries to be a source of funds. This healthcare programme is the reason for employment of many doctors, physicians, pharmacists, technicians and nurses working in its health care centres. It provides service opportunities and enhances technical skills of the workers. By means of health projects, IIROSA cooperates and exchanges ideas with national, regional and international institutions who are engaged in the field of healthcare (IIROSA 2012).

6.3.4. Engineering Projects

The IIROSA initiated engineering project in 1987 was to run all construction programmes like mosques, schools, vocational centres, cultural centres, hospitals, community complexes and digging wells. The workers of the draft project plan and design the project in accordance with the type, style, and methods of construction used in the member country. The objective of this project is to meet the needs of common people by providing them buildings as discussed above. The Engineering Department provides all technical advice required by other sectors of IIROSA. Through this project, IIROSA achieves considerable donations, which is offered by the people of Saudi Arabia specifically for construction purposes.

This project is also beneficial for employment purposes and for its implementation. For the project, the organisation hires reliable and technically professional engineers, contractors and labourers, all needed qualities and expertise. Along with construction work, the Engineering Department plays other vital roles in the organisation, for instance, it develops a mechanism and prepares contracts and follows up on their implementation. The Engineering Division of IIROSA implements its projects and plans with the help of the branch offices where buildings are under

all its brutal shapes. War is responsible for the loss of millions of human lives while leaving the survivors either wounded or maimed forever, thus further aggravating the suffering of many individuals and communities”.

construction, therefore, the contractors are hired in coordination with the branch offices. IIROSA Jeddah follows up and monitors the projects in the respective countries thoroughly (Atta 2012, p. 26).

6.3.5. *Quran* Memorization

Following this saying of the Prophet, ‘The best among you is he who learns the *Quran* and teaches it’, IIROSA conducts *Quran* memorization programme. This programme aims at imparting *Quran* reading and memorization in Mosques and *Quran* circles. *Quran* circles are not special institutes or academies; these are parts of mosques and schools where students are taught the *Quran*. The purpose of this programme is to enhance the methodology of teaching and memorization of the *Quran*. The programme wants more and more people to learn and memorise the *Quran* and supports this trend morally and materially. The students who complete memorization of the Holy *Quran* are then dispatched to different mosques for ‘*Tarawih*’⁵⁰ during the holy month of *Ramadan*. The organisation conducts and formulates specialised curricula of learning for *Quran* centres and circles. The teacher teaches the Holy *Quran*, through different methods, one of the methods is to distribute audio-visual copies of the Holy *Quran* for learning the exact Arabic accent and facilitating memorization. IIROSA organises refresher courses for *Quran* teachers in order to raise their standards and knowledge. To encourage children, at the local and regional levels, *Quran* competitions and passing out ceremonies are held (Atta 2013).

6.3.6. Emergency Relief Projects

The objective of the Emergency Relief Programme is to provide humanitarian assistance to the victims of natural disasters (earthquakes famine and floods) and man-made disasters (wars, conflicts and riots). IIROSA also takes care of refugees and displaced people by all means of relief items and modes. Through this project, this organisation helps concerned groups like governments or private parties to swiftly

⁵⁰*Tarawih* is a prayer offered during the holy month of *Ramadan*. There is the difference in the Islamic jurisprudence on the act of *Tarawih* and the number of *rakat* (a single unit of prayer). According to the *Hanafi* and *Shafi'i* schools of Sunni, Islam *Tarawih* is received from the great caliph, who started performing this prayer with the group in mosques Other *Sunni* groups believe that *Tarawih* practice was initiated by the Prophet Muhammad in congregation during *Ramadan* at home, but later he abandoned the practice. The *Shiite* views also differ on the matter of *Tarawih*, *Ismailis*, and *Alevis* do not perform *Tarawih* prayer and perceive it as a *bid'a*.

implement the task and produce effective results. Concerning the injured in disasters, IIROSA provides medical assistance to people in order to boost their morals and mitigate the suffering caused by their injuries.

Under this programme, whenever the Jeddah office receives information about a disaster in any country, its emergency relief branch verifies and classifies the information and pursuing the office policy draws a plan to access the disaster-ridden region. The plan is classified and settled according to the area of activity and shipments are arranged to the affected countries according to their needs. In this manner, this programme cooperates both with the head office and the branch offices in the arrangement of donations, distribution of assistance and implementation of the project. Throughout work, this programme collaborates with other working groups to acquire their support in accessing the disaster-ridden region and extending specialised services to victims. Besides extending material assistance, the programme oversees its implementation in the region with the help of its representatives who monitor the emergency relief operation in the affected region.

Through paperwork, video and audio recordings, the programme maintains documentation of its operations. The managers of the Emergency Relief Programme participate in different refresher courses designed for training in relief work skills and how to take command and serve during relief operations. Through this programme, IIROSA coordinates with regional and international organisations in the field of humanitarian work in the form of emergency relief operations (Atta 2012, pp. 20-23).

6.3.7. Community Development and Seasonal Projects

The aim of the community development programme is the safeguard of the underprivileged class, such as needy families, widows, isolated senior citizens, sick, poor students, drug addicts, disabled persons, juveniles and victims of calamities and disasters. With the objective of promoting an association of cooperation and coordination between individuals and society, IIROSA initiates, runs and subsidises vocational training centres for women and orphans; information technology centres. Interest-free loans for small business are also provided.

Under community development programme IIROSA is more inclined to the Orphans' Project. This project constructs orphanages combined with boarding houses and schools. Additionally, the project arranges some vocational training programmes

for orphans so that when they leave the orphanage, after the specified age limit, they can support themselves and their families. This programme is running with the help of some wealthy benefactors like the Royal family members, businessmen and the elite class of society who want to contribute to charity work somewhere in the world. These donors also supply large quantities of food materials, appliances, and furniture for needy people, especially inside Saudi Arabia (IIROSA 2010).

Under community development project IIROSA runs some Seasonal Projects as well. The Seasonal Project consists of two programmes Fast Breaking Programme and the *Qurbani* Programme. In the month of *Ramadan*, IIROSA arranges fast-breaking programmes in different mosques of Saudi Arabia and member countries. This programme provides a free meal to thousands of people especially in disaster-ridden areas where people are suffering from troubles and have no access to normal food facilities. Moreover, IIROSA purchases a large number of animals and have they slaughtered on the festive day of *Eid al-Adha*, so that poor and helpless people may not be deprived of this dish on the big day for Muslims (*Eid al-Adha*) (Atta 2013, p. 20-23).

6.4. Political Process of IIROSA

Social movements theory argues that movements/institutions and organizations do not operate in a vacuum; they belong to a broader social milieu and context characterized by shifting and fluid configurations of enablement and constraints that structure movement dynamics. Regardless of level of grievances, resource availability, or the prevalence of mobilizing structures, collective actors are both limited and empowered by exogenous factors, which often delimit movement viability and the menu of tactics, actions, and choices. Such understandings contextualize collective action by incorporating the influence of external factors and concomitant structures of opportunity and constraint. While many scholars describe these structures as ‘political opportunity structures’ and incorporate them into a political process model of social movement mobilization, in practice they encompass cultural, social, and economic factors as well (Wiktorowicz 2002, p. 200).

In Middle East this process of Islamic-social mobilization gained ground after the defeat of the secular Arab movement in 1960 and Islamic resurgence gained the ground through the activities of the Muslim Brotherhood. Pan-Arabism as a nationalist

movement and Pan-Nasserism as a social movement failed after the six-day war in 1967 and caused a distressing defeat to Arab countries at the hands of Israel. Also, failure of these two ideologies provided space and opportunity for a new ideology; Pan-Islamic ideology (Mandaville 2007).

Pan-Islamism emerged in the Gulf region as a socio-political movement whose objective was the unity of Muslims as an *Ummah* under the aegis of one Islamic state (Caliphate) or an International Organisation. Thereby, the aim of the ideology was to create the *Ummah* (Islamic community) the central point of Islamic mobilisation and a primary factor of unification of Islamic countries (Benthall & Bellion-Jourdan 2009, p. 129-130).

Pan-Islamism was transnational and missionary in its outlook. The major initiatives of the movement developed in Saudi Arabia. Some of the main reasons for its appearance in the Gulf region are linked to the Yom Kippur War. As a consequence of defeat in the war with the help of Western countries, the Gulf countries hiked oil prices which aggravated a remarkable upsurge in the non-refundable revenue of producer countries, mainly, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The increase in oil prices altered the balance of economic power in favour of Gulf countries. Governments, businessmen and individuals of the oil-producing countries of the Gulf region benefitted from increased revenues. Thus, they started thinking about utilising their capital (Tripp 2006, p. 110).

This period in the history of the Gulf region was called an era of 'Islamic economics' because it introduced a new age known as 'Islamic Development Aid Culture' (Roy 2004:96). With this new ideology, many new transnational Islamic institutes came into being. The background to the emergence of transnational institutes was dual. The first reason was to provide the Muslim societies with a practical alternative to the western ideologies of socialism, communism and capitalism. The second reason was to eliminate economic backwardness of Islamic countries (Tripp 2006, pp. 113-114). This concept of Islamic Aid Culture was implemented for the first time with the establishment of the Islamic Development Bank in 1973. The Royal family and the business class of Saudi Arabia encouraged the idea. Saudi Arabia, Libya, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait were the main sponsors of the bank (Tripp 2006, p. 137).

This series of transnational organisations was the beginning of Islamic solidarity in terms of the economy following the movement of Pan-Islamism. The idea of economic solidarity was promoted by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia with the idea that all Muslim countries should support each other mutually in times of disasters and crises. The idea was implemented in the form of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) with the mission to protect and defend the interests of the Muslim world (Mandaville 2007, p. 285).

Saudi Arabia was playing the role of an active leading country for Islamic solidarity; therefore, before the establishment of the OIC several state-based organisations emerged in Saudi Arabia and the neighbouring Gulf countries. The Muslim World League (MWL) came into being in Saudi Arabia in 1962; the league was supported by religious leaders from 22 Muslim countries and the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood and the leader of *Jamaat-e-Islami* Moulana Mawdudi (Schulze 2000). The league aimed to build the worldwide Islamic Republic. The mission activities of the league are *Da'wah*, education, publishing, teaching the Arabic language, the *Quran*, propagating a *Wahhabi* Islam, conducting charity work and constructing mosques (Petersen 2011, p. 80). As a thread of these transnational aid organisations, IIROSA was established as a part of the MWL in order to assist the Muslim world in the humanitarian sector in 1978. Since the 1970s, the Saudi government had nursed an informal alliance with national Islamic movements and boosted Saudi Arabs' new humanitarian development role in the world, the Saudi Government took on a strategy of cooperation with Islamic organisations. Under this new strategy, Muslim organisations achieved recognition and the Saudi government legitimised the payment of *zakat* to licensed organisations such as IIROSA (Petersen 2011, p. 114).

Apart from the Royal family, government and business class, the Muslim organisations also supported and encouraged work of IIROSA. Besides having natural and close relationships with the Muslim World League, IIROSA developed a close connection with the OIC as well. In 1990, IIROSA became a member of the OIC Coordination Committee for Joint Islamic Action. IIROSA regularly attends its meetings and conferences (Petersen 2011, p. 115). Institutionally, IIROSA is connected to several Muslim organisations and institutions and it is a member of a number of networks and coalitions for NGOs, such as the International Islamic Council for *Da'wah* and Relief. IIROSA has worked in Africa, Asia, Europe and primarily in

Muslim parts of the world in association with the national authorities of those countries and with the local and national NGOs and almost always with Muslim NGOs (Petersen 2011, p. 123).

The 9/11 event had a very negative impact on Muslim Charities. Many charity organisations were accused of being financial donors to terrorist networks and political supporters of militant Muslim movements and groups. Such allegations increased governmental and inter-governmental sanctions and restrictions on transnational Muslim organisations. IIROSA was one of the organisations affected by the 9/11 event. Since its establishment, Western countries criticized IIROSA from time to time as a partial and biased organisation, Western government and media always closely monitored its activities. After 9/11 the suspicions and allegations intensified when some branch offices of IIROSA were accused of involvement in terrorist activities (Benthall 2007, p.136).

In 2006, the national authorities of the Philippines and Indonesia closed the branches of IIROSA in their countries because of allegations made by the USA and later the UN in financially supporting Al-Qaeda and its offshoots. On August 3, 2006, the USA Treasury Department accused the Philippines and Indonesian branch offices of IIROSA for being involved in terrorist activities and the head of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, Mr. Steven Emerson, blamed IIROSA as a major Islamic radical organisation responsible for proliferating Islamic militancy around the world (Welsh 2006). In 2009, the office of IIROSA in Bangladesh was also closed by the government of Bangladesh after receiving the designation list. However, later on, no affiliation of this office was detected with any terrorist group (Cotterrell & Harmer 2005, p. 19).

In Europe, the branch office of IIROSA was alleged to be involved in transnational terrorist activities in Albania. The government of Salih Berisha, the then president of Albania, asked IIROSA for financial assistance. In 2009, the US accused IIROSA of helping members of Islamic Jihad in Albania (Bala 2012, p. 183). US allegations were considered by the United Nations and as a result of the United Nations Security Council Committee, 1267 listed IIROSA's branch offices in Indonesia and the Philippines as associated with Al-Qaeda (Krause, 2017). Discussing the ground reasons for these allegations, Gunaratna (2002, p. 68) writes:

Mohammed Jamal Khalifa who became the first head of the Philippines branch office IIROSA from 1987 to 1988 was brother-in-law of Osama bin-Laden and he had exploited the Philippines and Indonesian branches of IIROSA by supporting Al-Qaeda with funds which also went to the Abu Sayyaf group and the Morocco Islamic Liberation Front.

Khalifa was not only the general secretary of the respective branch office, but he established many charities in the Philippines, these charities were used to transfer money to radical groups. Asserting US allegations, the intelligence department of the Philippines issued a report claiming that while IIROSA claims to be a relief institution, it is being utilised by foreign extremists as a pipeline through which funding for travel by local extremists is supported. After all official investigations, the Philippines government immediately shut down all charities run by Khalifa (Abuza 2003).

However, IIROSA denied all allegations of involvement in terrorist activities and supporting terrorist networks in any manner, including Al-Qaeda. The Secretary-General of International Islamic Relief Organisation-Saudi Arabia, Adnan Khalil Basha quoted by Humaidan (2009) “Support [to] terrorism [by IIROSA] has no evidence ... IIROSA has nothing to do with terrorism ... We are following up the case in the US ... We are a welfare organisation and focus our activities on providing assistance to people anywhere during calamities. It was not an organisation, but some people related to IIROSA having personal connections with Osama or their wing members... IIROSA would be acquitted as all accusations levelled against Arab and Islamic charities have in the past been proven to be baseless”.

As a response to allegations and actions, IIROSA filed a petition to the Security Council in January 2009 to delist its two branch offices in the Philippines and Indonesia from the Al-Qaeda sanctions list (Ibrahim, 2010). As a result of its efforts, the names of these branch offices were submitted to the office of the UN Ombudsperson which was established to pursue the Security Council resolution 1904 (2009) and to investigate the involvement of alleged organisations. After thorough consideration on January 6, 2014, the Security Council Committee pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) and resolution 1989 (2011) delisted the names of the Philippines branch office and Indonesian office of IIROSA from the Al-Qaeda Sanction List. Therefore, the assets freeze, travel ban and

arms embargo set out in Paragraph 1 of Security Council resolution 2083 (2012) no longer applied to them (Cotterrell 2005, p. 19).

Endorsing the decision of the Security Council, the European Commission amended the Council Regulation No 881/2002, which imposed certain restrictive measures directed against certain persons and entities associated with the Al-Qaeda network. The amendment resulted in the implementation of Regulation No 21/2014. Accordingly, along with some other organisations, the Philippines branch office and Indonesian branch office of IIRISA were deleted from the list (EUC 2014). The United Kingdom also delisted branch offices of IIRISA from its list of suspected organisations having an affiliation with Al-Qaeda. Subsequently, the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) in the United States also removed the name of the Philippines and Indonesian branch offices of IIRISA from the list of Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons, whose property and interests in property were blocked pursuant to Executive Order 13224 (OFAC 2016).

In response to all allegations and showing solidarity against terrorism, the Saudi Arabian government introduced a range of restrictions on transnational NGOs and improved checks and control systems. The measures taken in this regard include merging funds into a single bank account licensed by the government and a ban on transferring funds without permission of government. However, in the case of allegations against IIRISA offices in Philippines and Indonesia, the government of Saudi Arabia took a neutral position; neither it advocated IIRISA nor offered assistance to the Security Council in its investigation (Cotterrell 2005, p. 19).

Almost one and a half decades have passed since 9/11 and IIRISA claims to be heading towards a normal routine job in all the countries, wherever it has branch offices now. Currently, IIRISA is a member of several international organisations, which work basically in the field of relief and development. It is a member of several councils, organisations, forums, unions and committees in the regional and international level. Partnership agreements and cooperation of IIRISA with organisations undertake a variety of tasks like relief activities, health, education projects, and environmental projects with a focal attention on poverty-ridden countries (see the table 1 and 2 in the appendix). The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and the International Islamic Relief Organisation – Saudi Arabia (IIRISA) have signed a memorandum of understanding to establish a cooperation framework to aid Palestinian

refugees. This agreement extends the organisations' previous cooperation in providing emergency food assistance to Palestinian refugees in Gaza and Syria and supporting job creation and the supply of medical equipment in Gaza (Amman 2014). At present, IIROSA is working in 57 countries (see the table 3 in the appendix).

6.5. Summary

Taking up the frame of Social Movement theory, this chapter outlines three basic components of this theory; cultural strain, resource mobilization and political process/opportunity in order to trigger off and justify, social mobilization and political process of IIROSA.

This chapter describes how Saudi Arabia has begun to assimilate into the international humanitarian system and it has recently become an important humanitarian aid donor. The Kingdom has recognised the existence of non-governmental organisations. Among all well-recognized NGO's of Saudi Arabia, IIROSA is the most prominent non-government aid/charity organisation. As a relief organisation, IIROSA conducts different projects including health, education, social and economic, mostly in Islamic countries. As an Islamic faith-based organisation, IIROSA represents and promotes Islam through different projects such as the construction of mosques, conducting *Quran* circles, distributing meals in *Ramadan* and distributing meat on the *Eid al-Adha* festival. The 9/11 incident had a negative effect on the organisation and two of its offices (in the Philippines and Indonesia) were blacklisted, however, later the two were delisted by the UN. Due to the post 9/11 scenario the organisation had to bring about some changes to its policies and functions. Currently, the organisation has consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and is implementing projects for the UNHCR, UNRWA, and the WHO and works in 57 countries of five regions of the world including Middle East Asia, South & East Asia, Africa, Europe, South America.

Pakistan is one of those countries where IIROSA has a branch office and funds different projects within two categories including social development and humanitarian assistance. The following chapters present analysis of the data collected through empirical research work. These chapters discuss the results of an empirical study taken to ascertain the role of IIROSA in Pakistan.

Chapter 7: Social Development Contributions of IIROSA to Pakistan

7.1. Introduction

Theorists of resource mobilization theory believe that social networks/institutions/organisations provide source of communication that helps members of society to overcome a feeling of helplessness and sense of incapability to change the societal conditions. As Doug McAdam explains, when individuals lack contact with each other, they are less likely to attribute social problems to the system and more likely simply to chalk them up to personal attributions. Without communication along social ties, there is a greater chance that individuals will feel that a problem is their own and not a systemic problem that affects numerous individuals and that can be changed (Clark 2004, p. 22).

Previous chapters have described how transnational Islamic charities claim that irrespective of religious affiliation they undertake their tasks as instructed by Islam in performing a role similar to all other mainstream development organisations primarily the wellbeing of common people. This chapter builds on that narration and explores the social development initiatives of IIROSA in Pakistan. It discusses how Transnational Islamic charities are being influenced by the religious traditions and conceptions of mainstream aid and development discourse. The analysis relates to the empirical study of IIROSA in Pakistan. It explores how IIROSA is organised in Pakistan and what is its contribution to the social development sector. Additionally, the chapter expresses how the development practices of IIROSA in Pakistan is embedded in cultural, religious norms and values, and how it is influenced by a globalized understanding of social development.

It is a well-known fact that a peaceful society is based on some long-term social policies like social protection systems such as education and healthcare facilities. These policies provide people with an opportunity for development, empowerment and social integration. Based on these needs, IIROSA Islamabad runs projects related to these

social policies. Despite all positive remarks about Islamic charities and their role in the social development sector, there are several myths and hear-says concerning their performance. These myths regarding role and performance need proper scientific empirical examination. This research is a key to this scientific study of charities. Through empirical research and operational work, this chapter evaluates the engagement of IIROSA as a Transnational organisation with the communities, civil society, and specifically the indigenous people of Pakistan.

Before turning to the empirical work, I reviewed the analogy between religion and aid. This amalgamation highlights how international charities build a new conception of aid combining the idea of development in religious doctrines and the contemporary international development agendas. IIROSA is also an all embedded Islamic relief organisation, which attempts to run programmes, which are suitable for Islamic identity and internationally recognised welfare programmes. Briefly, various other programmes indicated by world organisations as part of development goals are not included in the mission of IIROSA, like HIV protection programmes, long-term and special women's employment projects and environmental gradation.

This chapter discusses the long-term social development programmes of IIROSA Islamabad, which are discussed in the following sections.

7.2. Orphan Projects

Orphanage systems are more famous in Muslim countries or developing countries, whereas, in developed countries the system of orphan houses is not well known. In developed countries, orphanages have been replaced by residential institutions for children known as children's homes, rehabilitation centres and youth treatment centres. These institutions are mostly state-governed bodies. On the other hand, in developing countries, to date orphanages are being run by private organisations, and hardly any state-run orphan centres are found. Orphan houses are frequently established or coordinated by the national and international faith-based development organisations because several religious texts, including the Bible and the Quran, advise helping and protecting orphans. Under this religious motivation, several big Transnational Christian and Islamic charities run and support orphanage programmes (Wakefield 2011).

The social development programme of IIROSA Jeddah also carries out a project designed to support and take care of underprivileged and destitute children in developing societies. In this regard, a project is designed to socially protect the most vulnerable section of society, those who have been deprived of loving care from their parents and are at the mercy of society i.e. orphans. In Pakistan, the Orphans Sponsorship Project ranks at the top of IIROSA run projects and it works in coordination with the Human Welfare Department of IIROSA Jeddah. This project provides education and vocational training to orphans with the aim of preparing them for employment. In this context, the social centres (orphanages) being responsible for childcare continue their work in collaboration with health care and other educational programmes of IIROSA Jeddah. Under this project, IIROSA Islamabad runs three programmes. Under the first, it runs its own orphanages, the second, supports orphans in affiliated orphanages of the country and the third is about supporting orphans in various localities of the country; this is called the house-based orphans supporting programme.

7.2.1. Orphanages Run by IIROSA Islamabad

Social movement theory argues that grievances of society are addressed by some actors to create feasible organisations, mobilize resources, and draw attention of wide-ranging followers. IIROSA as a social actor aims to work on this line. Working in Pakistan for orphans it has financed over organisational built up of the two orphanages (McAdam & Ronnelle 1993, p.151).

These orphanages carry out two-fold tasks within the premises; boarding houses and schools. Currently, IIROSA is running two orphan houses in Pakistan; Dar Braiem and Dar Ali Bin Abi Talib. Dar Braiem is a single-story building located in Mansehra where 250 male students are being provided education along with boarding facilities and technical education (IIROSA 2004). Initially, Dar Braiem educated children up-to the 8th-grade school level but in 2014, it was upgraded to Matriculation level and affiliated to the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Schools, Peshawar. Although the Principal of the school handles all the affairs of the orphanage, the coordinator of the orphans' programme and the relevant team members visit Dar twice a month in order to supply goods and examine routine work. Dar Ali bin Abi Talib is a double-story building located in Islamabad with boarding and education facilities for 250 male students where required computer literacy and vocational training programmes are taught to the students. It started teaching on the 1st October 2002, and for the first two

years, it was the school which imparted Elementary level education , after two years, in 2004, it was upgraded to a Secondary/Matric level (IIROSA 2010).

There is a procedure of enrolment in these orphanages. At the top of the procedure, IIROSA has prescribed categories of orphans. IIROSA recognizes the Islamic explanation of the term orphan; a child whose father has died. Despite that, IIROSA gives first priority to those children whose parents (both mother and father) have died. The child whose father is not alive retains the second category in the enrolment procedure of IIROSA Islamabad. This categorization of orphans clashes with the international standard definition of orphans. International organisations like UNICEF quotes:

An orphan is a child under 18 years of age who has lost one or both parents to any cause of death. This large figure represents not only children who have lost both parents, but also those who have lost a father but have a surviving mother or have lost their mother but have a surviving father (UNICEF 2017).

The internationally recognized definition does not use the term “died” rather the word “lost” is more commonly used, which implies the absence of one or both parents in the life of a child. Being a partner of the United Nations specialized agencies specifically UNICEF and UNESCO, and in order to gain international recognition for its orphans’ projects, IIROSA has initiated considering the internationally recognized categories of orphans. In this respect, in 2005 after a massive earthquake in Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJK) and Pakistan, the Islamabad office enrolled some children into orphanages whose fathers were missing and the children were living like orphans (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 20 February).

Those victimized children were registered through the proper official channel. Their patrons had to provide a verified certificate of District *Nazim*⁵¹, which would confirm that the father of the child was missing and the mother was unable to afford his/her upkeep. Initially, children were enrolled in orphanages (boarding houses and schools) for two years, later on, if most of the students’ fathers were not found alive;

⁵¹Nazim is an administrative designation like mayor who coordinates cities and Towns. In Pakistan the chief elected official of local government such as district, union council and village council is called Nazim.

their enrolment in the school was extended until they finished education. Now 12 years have passed since the earthquake disaster so all students related to this category have left and there are no longer any students who belong to this category (missing father) and who are presently living in the orphanage (Asadullah 2017, pers. comm., 13 March).

In order to be acknowledged internationally and cope with the changing social and family patterns within Pakistan, IIROSA Islamabad is trying to convince the Jeddah office to recognise two more categories of orphans; as third and fourth categories of the programme. As a third category, the Islamabad office recommends those children whose father is disabled and unable to earn a living, they have no other source of income and are living like orphans. The fourth category of children are those whose parents are divorced and where the father fails to undertake his parental responsibilities. Divorced mothers face various challenges and difficult times. In the case where a father refuses to take any responsibility for his children after a divorce and has a second marriage, then in such a situation a divorced woman becomes the sole provider for all the needs of a child. One main problem a divorced mother faces is financial constraints, she has to earn her bread for her family and be responsible for the security, health and education of her children. Divorced women who cannot earn a sufficient livelihood for their children want their children admitted to an orphan house, but as their husbands are alive, they cannot take advantage of this facility. Realizing these two categories of deserving children, the Islamabad office has requested the Jeddah office to arrange 25 seats out of 250 specifically for such children (Asadullah 2017, pers. comm., 13 March).

The reason for seeking approval of the Jeddah office in the amendment of the enrolment policy is because full funding comes from Jeddah for the Orphans Programme, there are no contributions from other fund generating sources in Pakistan. No donation is accepted from Pakistani citizens or institutes (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 20 February).

Consequently, the programme is thoroughly observed and operated by adhering to the policies of head office⁵². As political process theory states that conditions, mind-set,

⁵²Students' enrolment forms and documents are dispatched to Jeddah for approval. Without the approval of the Jeddah office, no student can be registered in the institutes. The initial admission age of students is 6-12 years because there is no nursery and KG school.

and actions collectively cause social mobilizations, accordingly, taking the opportunity of political situations IIROSA had started working in Pakistan for helping Afghan refugees. It included a general child care programme and it received huge international support especially from Muslim countries (Crossman 2018).

As stated in Chapter one, many people in the Muslim world assumed that the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan in 1979 was an atheist menace against a Muslim country. This religious postulation of a political matter triggered faith-based solidarity among individuals, groups and organisations all over the world in general and Muslim countries in particular. They collectively worked for the cause of Afghanistan supporting Afghan refugees everywhere in the world. Some of the providers of aid to Afghanistan were well-known transnational Muslim organisations, including IIROSA, IICO and Muslim Aid (Ahmed 2009). Pakistan borders the country of Afghanistan and shares a religious, ethnic and cultural affinity, consequently, as a result of political upset and mass execution, almost three million Afghan refugees moved to Pakistan. They were housed in refugees camps on the Afghan-Pakistan border in the then NWFP (USCRI 2001). Islamic charities were engaged in Afghanistan among them were the Saudi organisations who sought permission of the government of Pakistan in opening its branch office in Peshawar for the assistance of refugees. In this manner, the first approach of IIROSA Jeddah to Pakistan was for humanitarian and social support to Afghan refugees (Petersen 2011).

The initial child-care programme of IIROSA in Pakistan aimed to educate Afghan refugee children in refugees camps. This child-care education programme in refugees camps has turned on a debate about Saudi intentions to promote Salafist education in Pakistan. Previous research argues that it used the Afghan war as an opportunity, and by using its charities and other financial support, Saudi Arabia brought the Pakistani madrasah under the influence of *Salafi* creed. The *Salafi* creed focused on generating a jihadi spirit and called for a holy war against the occupation of Muslim lands. Furthermore, the major purpose of promoting *Salafi* creed was to curtail the *Shiite* madrasah system (Iqbal & Raza 2015). This research study could not find any link between these arguments of the previous research studies and the orphan programme of IIROSA Islamabad because IIROSA Islamabad does not provide any detailed information about the then education policy in refugees' camps. IIROSA Islamabad presents the record of the orphan programme since 2001 (that relates to Post 9/11 era)

regarding the changing policies and patterns consistent with the restrictions and restraints levied on Islamic Charities after the 9/11 attacks. Stating briefly the initial education programme of IIROSA for children in Pakistan, immediately after its establishment, the Director-General says “On the instruction of IIROSA Jeddah, the refugee’s children were taught formal courses plus Islamic education which comprised of the Arabic language, *Quran* reading and translation as well as *Hadith*”.

Afterwards, when Afghan refugees returned to their homeland and their situation had settled down, IIROSA initiated its formally registered Orphans Programme for all the orphan children of Pakistan and Azad Jammu & Kashmir wherever it had access and allowed them to be educated and empowered.

Since long time Saudi influence has been pervasive in creating schools, curriculum and textbooks influenced by the teachings of Shaikh Muhammad ibn Abd ul Wahhab (1773-1842) which instructs Muslims to return to the fundamentals of Islam as preached by the Prophet Muhammad. This brand of Islam is also called fundamentalist Islam (Burr & Collins 2006, p. 37). The Higher committee for educational policy in Saudi Arabia is alleged to teach students Islamic values which enable them in Saudi Arabia and abroad to accept the mission of *Da’wah* (preaching Islam/ proselitization) worldwide. Countering these allegations, the administration of IIROSA Islamabad states ‘IIROSA based schools in Pakistan i.e. Dar Ali Bin Abi Talib and Dar Braiem are not *Da’wah* centres, but officially registered schools of Pakistan’. The curriculum of higher secondary schools is not the responsibility of the organisation; it is same as that prescribed by the federal and provincial boards. For grade (class) 1st to 8th, the curriculum is the same as it is recognised by the core-curriculum of Pakistan for secondary education. Even so, on the recommendation of IIROSA Jeddah, the Islamic teaching pattern has not changed and still the institutes teach children *Quran Nazira*⁵³ with translation. *Nazira Quran* is compulsory for all students, for this purpose IIROSA Islamabad has appointed a *Qari*⁵⁴ (Asadullah 2017, pers. comm., 13 March).

*Tafseer-ul-Quran*⁵⁵ is not part of the curriculum of these schools. The reason is this organisation wants to avoid any conflict over the matter of version of *Tafseer*. There are already allegations that Saudi based schools and madrasahs are trying to instil

⁵³ *Quran Nazira* or *Nazira Quran* is an Arabic term which means reading Quran.

⁵⁴ *Qari* is a teacher who teaches students to read and memorize Quran.

⁵⁵ A *Tafseer-ul-Quran* attempts to provide interpretation of the message of God given in *Quran*.

a *Salafi* mind-set, therefore, in order to evade such allegations *Tafseer* is not included in the Islamic education programme of these schools. The head office, Jeddah has no involvement in the curriculum design or in providing literature for schools. Being a sponsor, IIROSA Jeddah only proposes two compulsory courses for students one is Nazira *Quran* and the second is a computer literacy programme.

For the Secondary School Certificate (SSC) students, the only option is Biological science. So far, no Humanity/Social science group or Computer science group has been introduced. This is a critical point demonstrating that the school administration is still not thinking about the extension of the study programme to the Humanity/Social science group and Computer science group. The Islamabad office has no clear response regarding the matter.

After completion of matriculation, the child is out of the educational institute of the orphanage, but he is provided with boarding facilities until he turns 18 years old. After matriculation only 15-30 orphans live in the orphanage, most of the orphans leave and earn an ordinary wage for them and their families. Besides, if an orphan wants to have further education, he can enrol in a college, the Islamabad office then informs the Jeddah office. The head office directly pays his admission and examination fees to the college. For the facility of students IIROSA Islamabad intends to upgrade the school to a Higher Secondary level, documents have been submitted to the Jeddah office (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 20 February).

Among the key performance indicators of any educational institution, the final result of the school is counted as a value-added statistic. Both the schools Dar Ali Bin Abi Talib and Dar Braiem are performing better from that perspective. A considerable number of students of schools receive a higher education (MBA, MSc. M.A, MBBS, Air Force Training) in reputable institutes of Pakistan and some work in very good positions such as aviation officers, military personnel, doctors and teachers. Highly qualified ex-students of schools are invited by the Institute to give lectures as a form of moral support to current students. IIROSA Islamabad is working on an alumni page of both the schools so enabling them to keep a record of highly qualified students of the schools. The students who pass out matriculation and are willing to continue further studies are provided counselling by their teacher (Asadullah 2017, pers. comm., 13March).

7.2.1.1. *Source of Funding to Orphanages*

Resource mobilization theory explains that a movement or organisation's success depends upon its capability to obtain resource and mobilize individuals to accomplish its goals by taking advantage of the political opportunities. Following the content of this theory, IIROSA runs a systematic resource mobilization campaign for orphans' project (McCarthy & Zald 1977, pp. 131-135).

The main funding source for the orphan project of IIROSA are Saudi citizens. Generally individuals directly contact IIROSA Jeddah to give donations, the second way is a funding campaign. Mostly, fundraising and its implementation by the Saudi government includes Saudi relief campaigns (raising funds from the Saudi public) as well as, campaigns initiated by the Royal leadership, it is run by a relief committee and supervised by the Ministry of Interior. The Saudi Relief Campaign takes place in all regions in Saudi Arabia under the supervision of Governors. Saudi citizens who want to sponsor orphans through IIROSA Jeddah, choose a number of children to be sponsored by them. Sponsors are authorized to fund the student monthly, quarterly, biannually or annually as per their convenience. The average minimum and maximum annual amount per child goes from forty thousand to one hundred thousand Pakistani rupees (Rs: 40,000 to 100,000) per year. IIROSA Jeddah and Islamabad branches only play the role as a medium between the sponsor and orphan. Islamabad office sends the required documents of the children which consist of a birth certificate of the child, death certificate of the father, an Identity card of the patron of the child, a school enrolment certificate, a salary evaluation of the deceased father of the orphan and the mother's financial status to the Jeddah office. IIROSA Islamabad does recommend an amount of money required to sponsor a child, but the final figure is at the discretion of the sponsor who pays with consideration to their own financial status (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 20 February).

In terms of funding for orphans, the Islamabad office asserts three levels of policy for the fair use of funds. At the initial stage, whenever the office receives cheques for the enrolled students from the Jeddah Office, it constitutes a committee which consists of the coordinator of the orphanage project, the School Principal, the boarding house warden, an accountant and one senior teacher. There is no outside member of that funding committee like an officer of IIROSA Jeddah or any functionary of the government of Pakistan. The committee hand overs the cheque to the student in the

presence of his patron who signs the delivery receipt and then the committee dispatches the receipt copy to IIRSA Jeddah (Asadullah 2017, pers. comm., 13 March). On the second level, the Islamabad office tries to invite a higher functionary of government including Ministers or Members of the National Assembly to attend the cheque distribution ceremony. Following the third level, the Islamabad office sends a progress report of the student to his sponsor in Saudi Arabia. The sponsor requires an education report of the child monthly, quarterly, biannually or yearly as it is fascinating for him. IIRSA Islamabad sends the report of the child along with documents including the fresh photo of the child, an educational report, a health report and an extracurricular activities report. However, IIRSA's Islamabad office receives students' progress reports annually from Principals (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 20 February).

7.2.1.2. *Healthcare and Security Facilities at the Orphanages*

The nutritional status and suitable lifestyles of the orphans especially with regard to education and health facilities (growth and development) are manifestly significant responsibilities of orphanages (Huq et al. 2013). Like all orphan houses, both the orphan houses of IIRSA Islamabad undertake children's healthcare facilities. If a child has some health issues during the night and after the departure of the duty doctor, the warden can call the doctor to treat the child. For the long-term diseases, like dental problems, hepatitis, or anaemia the coordinating organisations for example, Anjuman Faizul Islam supports IIRSA Islamabad and they treat the children free of cost. The other option is the charity section of the Al-Shifa hospital in Islamabad, or the Pakistan Institute of Medical Science, Islamabad (PIMS), whatever treatment they suggest; medicines or operations the IIRSA office bears the costs and later informs the Jeddah office (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 20 February).

7.2.1.3. *Vocational Training at the Orphanage*

In some cases, the orphan children join the orphanages at 10-12 years of age as completely illiterate students. They come from very remote areas where they never went to school for several reasons. Such students become a challenge for a teacher as they are not interested in education and pay the least attention to studies. This situation may be defined with reference to UNESCO:

Some children's growth and development is impaired because their environment causes them harm or does not support their wellbeing... Most of the schools cannot cope with children who have additional needs and they are not allowed to enrol. In some cases, the children

come to school but soon drop out... A teacher's job is not easy... a good teacher can recognise children's strengths and weaknesses and plan lessons accordingly (UNESCO 2016, PP. 8-11).

IIROSA Islamabad runs special classes for such students, but most of them have difficulties in starting education from class one. However, if a student is completely reluctant to start studying and wants to run away, in such special cases, IIROSA Islamabad provides vocational training so that they could earn to survive. There are no such workshops and organised training centres however, there are tailoring trainers available for the children in orphanages (Mateen 2017, pers. comm., 25 February).

Initially, the children were trained in carpet making. Now, this carpet making training is not part of the vocational programme as machines have supplanted manual carpet manufacturing as a result people do not like buying manually produced carpets for use, but the elite class buy such products for decoration purposes. Therefore, this production is not more profitable. The patrons of orphans assume it is a waste of time and do not want their children to learn the carpet industry. In consideration of this reality, IIROSA facilitates the interested students with tailoring. The training is not compulsory for all students because the aim of IIROSA is not to produce tailors or workers, its aim is to educate orphans, but the students who are also interested in vocational training with education and can manage both these things in a positive manner are allowed to join the vocational training. A tailor is appointed in both orphanages to train the interested students after school time (Mateen 2017, pers. comm., 25 February).

The purpose of this vocational training is not to engage children in labour work, but it aims to teach some craft to the orphans in order to enable them for some work after 18 years of age.

Critics of the Orphanages system usually criticize orphan houses for having poor housing and security systems, abusing and at some point, neglecting children (Redcliffe 2007). Countering this criticism, the school's administration argues that boarding houses of orphanages are a big responsibility as children live there permanently. Realizing the sensitivity of this responsibility, IIROSA Islamabad has appointed two wardens in each house (in Islamabad and Mansehra), all wardens are on duty 24 hours a day. Alongside, hostel wardens, one physical training teacher, one *Qari*, one doctor,

mess staff and two security guards are available most of the time in the house in order to discipline students ⁵⁶and prevent trouble (Safeer 2017, pers. comm., 13 March).

7.2.1.4. Efforts for the Psychological Well-being of Children

Psychologically, one faces tremendous and long-term lingering issues in the case of loss of a loved one especially a child who faces lifelong negative consequences in losing one or both parents. In view of this situation, orphans are highly vulnerable to depression influencing their accomplishments and life's pursuit of satisfaction and happiness (Maslow 1993). For want of parents, orphans not only had their basic needs unmet but also had various, noticeably; bigger, internalized issues that put their mental health at risk (Makame et al.2007). In this situation, psychologically building up children requires certain strategies and techniques to replace negative effects with positive ones (Samman 2007).

Self-reliance of these children has been one of the prime objectives of these schools (orphan centres). The management of the centres has very tactfully and strategically taken some measures to deal with these children and to make them feel like they are not parentless or homeless. With reference to psychological-wellbeing of orphans, the school administration describes the rules of the boarding house and school where no one is allowed to use word 'orphan' to the children or call them orphans'. The Principle of Dar Ali Bin Abi Talib narrates:

That is very important for the psychological build-up of the students not to call them orphan. When a student gets admission the first attempt of the organisation is to pull him out of the feeling of isolation and trauma of hard memories. Therefore, all teachers and Boarding staff are strictly instructed not to use the word orphan, and corporal punishment is strictly prohibited. All teachers and staff have to call them a student, and make them realize that they are proud students who have all options and opportunities to live their life fully, what they have gone through in life that is just a setback not stop mark, and every person faces such traumas at any stage of life.

Adding the points about psychological wellbeing of children a teacher of Dar Ali Bin Abi Talib remarks:

⁵⁶In the evening, children play sports in the grounds of the boarding school and at night coaching classes are conducted for them. The purpose of those classes is to help students to finish their homework because they do not have a home to go where siblings can help them to complete their work, this is why they are provided with facilities. Two teachers and a warden are on duty for two hours to invigilate and help them complete their homework.

Usually, little children behave very naughtily and rude and in the initial days of school, they stay upset for having physical, psychological and emotional complications. They do miss parents. Staffs encourage them to tell their problems and try to tackle their issues as much as possible. Another problem is that the kids who come from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Pakhtun ethnic and linguistic background) they are usually ignorant of Urdu language. Despite all the issues, that is also one of the qualities of little children to adapt to the new environment comparatively fast. Nevertheless, when they go back to home for spending holidays, they forget all and come back with same deteriorated psychological, social and educational condition. Therefore, teaching orphans of the remote areas are like a *jihad* for a teacher. Teachers have to work persistently over the personal growth and education of the primary students.

Apart from all these matters, the Mother-Factor cannot be ignored in influencing the mental growth of a child as they miss and desire motherly love and care. In consideration of this inevitable silent demand of children, IIROSA Islamabad has arranged for females to be employed for primary level students, this has not been fully implemented but there are plans to do so in the near future, with the permission of head office in Jeddah.

Psychologically and socially adolescent children (middle and secondary level students) have different issues. As they enter the teenage years, their emotional feelings automatically change. During this phase of life, they do not need more parental attention and instructions, but they desire a sort of recognition, self-esteem, appreciation and guidance. In this respect, the teaching staff considers teenagers to be major beneficiaries of IIROSA because during this phase of life, they need a friendly and frank environment, which is available to them in orphanages. They stay connected with friends for 24 hours and for guidance they have their teachers. The institute helps them to divert their emotional needs in a positive direction and give them a sense of responsibility. They realize that their presence in an orphanage is purposeful and, after completing their education, they have to support their families. Such realization boosts their confidence and wipes out all sorts of self-pity (Abid 2017, pers. comm., 13March). Discussing the psychological up-gradation of orphans a teacher Dar Braiem expresses:

In my opinion, never create any sort of sympathetic and pitiful behaviour towards orphan students. If we shall start dealing them pitifully, they will be a victim of an inferiority complex. We have to rescue them from an inferiority complex. We have to tell them that they are normal people with normal behaviour who can do whatever a

child can do who are living with parents. They can catch the opportunities, they can go by their own choices. My personal attempt is to make my students morally strong so that they could beat any field and move to the practical life confidently.

Available literature on the subject of the psychosocial well-being of orphans confirms that adolescent orphans desire self-respect, attention, and appreciation for their psychological build-up but some psychological barriers reduce their confidence level. In this situation, they need guidance and teachers can guide them and help eliminate any self-pity by boosting their sense of self-dependence in life (Samman 2005; Goebel & Brown 1981). Discussing the responsibilities of a teacher towards orphans a teacher remark:

The responsibility of a teacher here is twofold as he has to perform as a teacher and a parent. With this undertaking, he has to treat a child as a friend, advisor, guide, parent and instructor. I am personally attached to my students, I love them, and I tell them that I love you, I like you. When I express my emotions to them, an element of fear and dislikes disappears and the bond of attachment and respects comes to the surface. The child turns automatically to positivity in trusting over the teacher, stimulated by this idea that there is someone who likes him and wants to see him as a superman. Like a parent, I do not advise my students that they have to be a doctor or engineer or army officer. I just try to bring up a sense of prominence in my students and tell them they have to recognise themselves for their own needs and many others in society.

The above statement by a teacher reveals the significance of the love factor in the responsibilities to orphans. Just as Maslow (1993, p. 89) believed that the human being has an innate need for love; other experts believe that everyone is born with a desire to form an affectionate relationship (i.e. attachments) to a primary caregiver (Berman & Sperling 1994). In the case of orphans' schools, the caregivers are not only the teaching staff; students also interact with the school and boarding house staff. Therefore, the behaviour of staff-to-children also matters for the physical and mental growth of the children. School and boarding house staff is instructed to interact students with love and attention according to need (Kreppner et al.2007).

For the physical, mental and psychological well-being of a student self-actualization is a necessary factor to achieve satisfaction, happiness and to focus the mind on something constructive. The best way of positive engagement for young and

adolescent children is extracurricular activities (Heylighen 1992). Asserting the significance of extracurricular activities, the schools organise sports, annual functions, debate competitions and *Naatkhwani*⁵⁷ competitions. Both orphanages also celebrate sports week. Sports week is celebrated inside and outside the schools. Most of the students play football because the majority of students belong to KPK and football is the cultural sport of the Pakhtun community. Sports week creates a sense of confidence amongst students of orphanages because they help to evaluate their own capabilities and worth of their institute. When they win a competition, they feel assured that they are in no way inferior to other students. Apart from sport, students participate in debates, art and *Qirat*⁵⁸ competition as well.

As students are the beneficiaries of this orphan programme, it was essential for the authenticity of this research to take into account their opinions. Opinions and statements of teachers and principals were verified by the students through focus group discussions in the absence of the aforementioned staff. They recognized the aid of IIROSA Jeddah, which is financially supporting them and fulfilling their basic needs like food, clothes, education, health and entertainment. The elements of self-esteem and self-confidence were noticed amongst students of both orphanages. The majority of middle and secondary school students are very clear in their goals and objectives in life, and they have a point of view about life and skills, their institute and professions. The motivation to attain self-esteem through accomplishments or achievements in their academic performance was high in students. Students were appreciative of the academic skills and moral attitudes of some teachers who were always cooperative in terms of education as well as motivating for the prospective future of students.

As stated by them, their main current objective is to get the highest percentage in the tenth-grade examinations. At this level, they do not think about what if their parents were with them and what they would have done for them or how they would have helped them. They believe that when they achieve a good mark, their future will be

⁵⁷*Naatkhwani* is an Arabic word; this word is used about poetry in praise of the Muslim Prophet Muhammad.

⁵⁸*Qirat* is an Arabic word which means recitation of Quran according to rules of pronunciation, intonation and caesuras. In the year 2017 Dar Ali bin Talib students won two prizes one in the debate competition beating the students of the covenant and the second prize in sports beating the students of Home Sweet Home, Karachi.

bright. The majority of students wished to join the Pakistani military and air force. The reason for students' inclination to the field of the armed forces originates from the regional annexation of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa where they have seen fighting between the army and terrorists and as a result of this war, they were displaced. Most of the students' siblings or relatives were targeted in suicide attacks or during the war against terrorism. Therefore, they show hatred towards terrorism and speak about its elimination. They recognize that IIROSA has given them identity and a sense of self-recognition.

7.2.1.5. *Consideration to Particular Sect*

Regarding consideration to children belonging to a particular sect in these orphan houses, the IIROSA Islamabad, strictly condemned sectarianism and claimed that there was no room for acceptance to such approaches and involvement of a certain sect in the schools. To maintain impartiality, the schools are affiliated with the Pakistani Board of Education, they have no affiliation with the Saudi Education Department. The administration of both schools conveys a welcoming gesture to students of all sectarian groups and believes that so far, no non-Muslim family has approached the Institute on behalf of their child. Nevertheless, they believe that their programme is also open to non-Muslims, who will be accepted by all means. Despite such welcoming gestures from the administration of schools for non-Muslim students the reality is that non-Muslims would not admit their children to a school of a Saudi organisation for fear of religious conversion.

Arguing the point about sectarian biases, the IIROSA Islamabad says the name of one school is “Dar Ali bin Abi Talib”, the name declares a non-sectarian policy of the school. The *Imam* of the mosque is instructed not to touch the sect of a child and let all children offer *salah* according to their own sectarian style (Atique 2017, pers. comm., 23 February). Despite all these claims of a non-sectarian policy in the orphanages, I still explored this, and discovered that the *Pesh-Imam* of the mosques within orphanages and the *Quran* circles belong to a *Salafi* brand of Islam. The *Pesh- Imam* offers prayer following the *Salafi* trend of Islam, in addition whatever teaching is imparted to students from the *Quran* teacher must be a reflection of his knowledge under his creed of Islam. Students are too young to differentiate between different sects of Islam, therefore, they follow the teachings of their religious teachers as imparted to them.

7.2.2. Supporting Orphans in the Affiliated Orphanages

IIROSA Islamabad supports other well reputed registered organisations which run orphanages in Pakistan. The aid strategy of IIROSA Islamabad involving these organisations contains direct funding to registered orphans. Currently, the number of these coordinating organisations is five including S.O.S Village, Rawalpindi, Anjuman Faizul Islam Rawalpindi, Siratul Jinnah Murree, Al-Markaz Islami Bannu, Jamia Dar ul Uloom Baltistan. Initially, IIROSA Islamabad had no established orphan house. To continue the orphan support programme, the Islamabad office needed the collaboration of the existing orphanages in Pakistan. They approached some reputable orphanages and selected a considerable number of orphans for funding. After the establishment of its own orphanages, IIROSA Islamabad did not abandon the collaboration with affiliated organisations and carried on the project as before.

Following the memorandum with IIROSA, these affiliated organisations send files of selected students to the Islamabad office. The office dispatches the files to IIROSA Jeddah and the head office sponsors the selected children annually. Sometimes the delivery of money is delayed for three to four years as the second last funding was delivered in the year 2012 and the latest funding was received in the year 2016. The reason for this delay is linked to the sponsoring of individuals. Head office receives an amount of money from Saudi sponsors and sends the cumulative amount to its branch offices. When the IIROSA Islamabad office receives scholarships for these students, the coordinator of orphans' project informs the affiliated institutes, the orphans are taken to the IIROSA Islamabad office along with an accountant where the orphans receive a cash amount in the presence of their patron (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 20 February).

IIROSA Islamabad is affiliated to the orphans just for funding purposes. The education, health and other needs of the children are the responsibility of the coordinating organisations where they are hostelling. As discussed above, IIROSA Islamabad selects the students under its own two defined terms and categories, first, the children whose parents have died and the second whose father has died. Therefore, IIROSA Islamabad is not concerned with the additional categories of the coordinating organisations. The two additional categories of SOS Village Rawalpindi are those orphans whose mother has died but whose father is still alive and the children whose parents are divorced; these two categories of orphans do not fit into the categories of IIROSA. Moreover, IIROSA Islamabad does not run a girls' orphanage, therefore, they

select a considerable number of orphan girls from these coordinating organisations (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 20 February).

By 2016, IIROSA Islamabad changed its funding policy to coordinating organisations. Previously, it would hand over a cash amount directly to orphans; the shifting policy now gives cheques for the orphans. This policy has been criticized by the coordinating organisations. The coordinating organisations' views are that the previous policy was in their favour because these organisations used to collect the money from the orphans and deposit it into an orphanage account. Their justification is that these amounts should go into the orphanage account instead of directly to the orphans as the coordinating organisations bear all the expenses for their care. Discussing objections to the policies of IIROSA, a coordinating organisation states that when funding of orphans is delayed for 3-4 years, some registered students complete their education and leave school. In view of this reality, IIROSA Islamabad should handover the funds to the administration of the orphanage or substitute it for the enrolled children.

Contending the argument of the affiliated beneficiary organisations, the administration of IIROSA Islamabad says "Islamabad office is not authorized to make any amendment to the selected candidate and policies of the Jeddah office. For the replacement of funds, the office needs the proper permission from the headquarters, which is a time consuming process". The beneficiary organisations dispute the argument that students who have completed their tenure at their orphanages and who have left are no longer the responsibility of their institute. In such circumstances, it is difficult to locate them and ask them to open their account and then convince them to transfer an amount of money to the institute. Additionally, most students of orphanages who leave start earning by using the vocational training they learnt during their stay in the orphanages, accordingly they no longer need funding. Simply put, the coordinating organisations do not consider the funding by IIROSA to be beneficial to the institute and do not agree with the payment by cheque policy.

The major complaint of coordinating organisations with IIROSA is its irregular funding system. For delayed funds, the registered beneficiary students leave institutes, sometimes their orphans receive funds after three years and sometimes after 4 years. According to the administration of one coordinated orphanage, in 2012, they received eleven hundred thousand rupees for 35 students. And for the year 2016, again IIROSA sent cheques amounting to Rs.1, 100,000 for 28 students, of which 10 had already left

the school. This affiliated orphanage has objections to the new payment policy of IIROSA, yet it has agreed to their policy for the sake of the orphans and is trying to locate the children who have left the orphanage in order to obtain the cheques in their names which are with the IIROSA Islamabad office. If the registered orphans do not receive their cheques, the cheque will not be cashed and the money will continue to remain in the account of IIROSA Islamabad. As per the strict policy of payment, any money cannot be paid to the parent organisation or other recommended orphans by that organisation, unless the selected candidates are found (Basmal 2017, pers. comm., 17March).

The coordinating organisations add that IIROSA Islamabad has shifted the payment policy under the pressure of government of Pakistan. This is because the government is revisiting and toughening its policies towards international aid organisations. The government monitors and scrutinizes the dealings and flows of funds of International Non-Government Organisations (INGOs) using secret agencies including Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the Intelligence Bureau (IB) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Haider 2015). Arguing the policy of IIROSA Islamabad the participant of one coordinated orphanage says:

Our orphanage is not a local or ordinary organisation, it is a registered and government recognised institute, which is awarded “*Tamgha-e-Imtiaz*”⁵⁹ by the government in recognition of its services. This is a proof that our organisation is a neutral, impartial and humanitarian organisation, which is purely working on humanitarian grounds for orphans, and it is not affiliated with any sectarian or terrorist network. Additionally, if IIROSA Islamabad holds some reservations to the policy of coordinating organisations to deposit orphans amount in their account that should not be their concern, because the students of orphanages are the responsibility of the institute, if they give all amounts to the student than what is the benefit of this coordination to the organisation.

Approving this statement regarding the verification policy of the affiliated organisations, the IIROSA Islamabad adds that prior to selecting the coordinating organisations; the organisation confirms their registration and reputation of these

⁵⁹*Tamgha-e-Imtiaz* is a distinct civilian tribute of State of Pakistan awarded to the civilians on their distinguishing achievements.

affiliated orphanages with the government of Pakistan. Besides, it certifies all documents of selected beneficiary orphans. Based on its verification process, it can counter the queries of secret agencies without shifting its policies to affiliated organisations. However, after growing objections and dissatisfaction by the coordinating organisations, IIROSA Islamabad has agreed to give one percent of the total funds to the coordinating organisations yet it is still not profitable for them.

Disputing the opinions and reservations of coordinating organisations; IIROSA Islamabad admits that previously, it had a policy of handing over cash amounts to the orphans. The coordinated organisations used to take this money from the orphans and deposited it into the official account. Despite this reality, IIROSA Islamabad was not concerned about the policy of coordinated organisations that whether they took the money from the orphans and deposited it into their own account or not. The objective of IIROSA is just to benefit orphans. By 2016, this policy had changed following the instructions of IIROSA Jeddah not the government of Pakistan. Under this new policy the Islamabad office has advised all the coordinated organisations to locate the selected students who have left the orphanages and inform them that they need to open their accounts so that IIROSA Islamabad can transfer the amounts to their accounts. As far as the children under 18 years are concerned and who are still students, an open cheque will be given which can be cashed with the help of their patrons on condition that the birth certificate of the orphans and Identity card copy of the patron is shown to the bank. According to the IIROSA Islamabad, the two main objections of the affiliated organisations are: the first, they have reservations about the payment through cheque policy, and the second, they want the students who have left and whose amounts have not yet been given to be now given to the organisation (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 21March).

Initially, when IIROSA started coordinating with the orphan organisations of Pakistan the registered students' number was high, but it is now reduced (see the table 4 in the appendix). It seems as this coordination will not last long for increasing clash of opinion and policies.

7.2.3. House-Based Orphans Supporting Programme

The third section of the Orphans Programme is supporting those orphans who are living in their homes with mothers or relatives. This category of orphans has access to

IIROSA Islamabad through various sources, the main source is Pakistan Bait-ul- Mal⁶⁰(PBM). This body socially protects and financially assists the poor segments of society like widows, orphans, the disabled and needy persons, encouraging the rehabilitation and educational assistance to orphans and non-affording students. PBM also works in the health sector, vocational setup and self-employment schemes.

Here the point of discussion is IIROSA's donation for registered students of PBM under its category for home-based students. Currently, PBM provides for 100 orphans and applies for financial assistance in the same pattern as that of orphan students of coordinated organisations who are supported. The second way of providing assistance to home-based orphan students is to facilitate those families who have access to IIROSA Islamabad for funding, these families get information about orphan projects through various sources such as the existing beneficiaries of their funding or through some other source of communication.

The existing number of such students is 313, they usually come from adjacent locations of Islamabad and Peshawar because it would be difficult to continue this project in other provinces because of the long distances from the Islamabad office and other management and security concerns. Students get their stipend through a cheque form. The maximum age of sponsorship is 18 years, even so, if a student is willing to continue their further education and is still unable to meet his educational expenditures, IIROSA Islamabad refers the case of the student to the Jeddah office along with all documents and a recommendation letter for further sponsorship for his education. If recommendation is accepted, the Jeddah office pays his admission and examination fees to the college (Labib 2017, pers. comm., 21March).

Regarding the funding system of IIROSA, the mother of a beneficiary commented that IIROSA Jeddah should regularize its funding for orphan students because students are dependent on this funding and their needs develop with age and time. She believes that IIROSA Islamabad should take practical steps in this regard.

⁶⁰Bait-ul-Mal is a monetary institution in charge to administer the monetary affairs in Islamic countries including taxes, government expenditures, and distribution of zakat. Bait-ul-Mal in Pakistan is an autonomous body built up by means of a 1991 Act of the Government of Pakistan. PBM is not a public treasury for running the government.

7.3. Education Projects

Education is highly important for human development. Human development encompasses various dimensions like economic development, human security and social development. Social development is an index of growth of a society; how an individual grows into an empowered, self-dependent, safe and responsible human in a society. There are various indices of social development, education is one of them. Education is the most important means to build and improve personal capabilities, overcome personal weaknesses and have the opportunities for empowerment and wellbeing. In developed countries, education is imparted to children and adults, regardless of gender difference, formally and informally. Formal education is delivered through trained teachers in a systematic way within schools, colleges and universities. Developing societies are struggling to get an advanced education system (Venkatraja & Indira, 2011). In this connection, development organisations play the role of service providers especially in those countries where government education institutes are not sufficient to accomplish the tasks. In these countries, development NGOs are filling the gap and taking initiatives for building capacity (Ullberg 2009).

According to the social movement literature, participation in Islamic social movement organizations provide all benefits to their people alike social movement organizations in the case of ISIs, these benefits include well-paying jobs, flexible work schedules, and private schools for their children. According to the literature, benefits, or “selective incentives,” play a positive role (Clark 2004, p.30).

The above reference is implemented by the Transnational Islamic Charities by paying attention to education projects, especially after the first-millennium development programme. Education projects run by Islamic charities include various programmes like building schools, appointing teachers, training teachers, providing free education to students, repairing and renovating schools, universities and research centres and sponsoring higher studies. Literature reveals that it is a matter of fact that the education projects of Transnational Islamic charities are remarkably different from each other. There is a prominent difference in the educational projects run by Western Islamic Charities and Gulf charities, especially regarding girls’ education projects. Western based transnational Islamic charities promote girls’ education and take practical steps in this connection; however, the organisations of the Middle East usually work on Islamic education of girls, and they still lack advanced education programmes for girls.

This section covers the detail of the formal education projects of IIROSA in Pakistan and its social benefits to students. The education project of IIROSA Islamabad consists of the three programmes (i) Appointing teachers and preachers (ii) Funding Jamia Asriyya (Girls section) (iii) Grants of scholarship to overseas students.

7.3.1. Appointing Teachers and Preachers

Here the word teachers are specifically used for the teachers appointed in the orphanages of IIROSA Islamabad; Dar Ali bin Abi Talib and Dar Braiem. The term “preacher” is used for the teachers who are teaching the *Quran* in the Quranic Circles. Both teachers and preachers are on the payroll of IIROSA Jeddah. The word preacher implies *Da’wah* work, these are people who invite all Muslims and non-Muslims to Islam and try to spread the message of Islam wherever possible. However, the work of the IIROSA preachers is not *Da’wah* work. The role of the preachers appointed by IIROSA Jeddah in various countries is just confined to teaching students how to read and memorize the *Quran*. In fact, the word preacher is now just confined to the documents of office. Practically, they are visiting teachers, who serve IIROSA Islamabad in its project and work part-time for some hours on a contract basis. Currently, the number of preachers, working in schools or mosques of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, is 32. Under this project, their activity is called *Halaqat-ul-Quran*⁶¹(Yonus 2017, pers. comm., 3 March).

Posts for preachers are advertised by the Jeddah office. The appointment takes place through interview. The required basic qualification is the degree of *Shahadat-ul-aalamiya*, which is equivalent to (Masters of Arabic and Masters of Islamic studies), besides, the preacher must be *Hafiz-e-Quran*⁶². The documents and interview qualification marks of the teachers are dispatched to the Jeddah office, where the appointment is finalized. The qualified preachers are given the option to select the city and school in view of his convenience. Usually, IIROSA Islamabad prefers those schools and mosques which request the appointment of *Qari*. Before joining the institute, a teacher presents a Character Certificate from two scholars in the field of Islamic studies and Islamic *fiqh*, a police clearance certificate, and medical fitness certificate (Ameen 2017, pers. comm., 21March).

⁶¹It is an Arabic term used for the centers of *Quran* where Muslims learn *Quranic* education (reading, understanding and memorizing).

⁶²It is an Arabic term used by Muslims for someone who has completely memorized the *Quran*.

The schools/mosques where *Halaqat-ul-Quran* is running, are all registered and recognized by the government of Pakistan and they do comply with the policy of IIROSA. According to the policy of IIROSA Islamabad a teacher is appointed in the school/mosque just for the purpose of teaching the *Quran*, he is not concerned with any other academic or non-academic activities of the institute. Prior to joining the school/madrasah, a teacher also signs an undertaking not to attend any kind of political or religious/sectarian activities as a speaker, protestor or participant. His duty is just confined to teaching the *Quran (Nazira and Hifaz)* and stressing *Tajweed-e-Quran*⁶³. *Tafseer-ul-Quran* (Interpretation of *Quran*) is not part of the discipline because when students complete *Nazira Quran* at the age of 6-7 years and become *Hafiz-e-Quran* at the age of 8-9 years, then parents want them to focus on other academic subjects. All preachers are supervised by IIROSA Islamabad. The Coordinator of the *Quranic* circle visits the *Halaqat* along with his team so as to supervise the work and efficiency of both teacher and students. Office keeps complete records of students, for instance, students' birth certificate, enrolment certificate and annual exams/progress reports (Yonus 2017, pers. comm., 3March).

This category of preachers is more aimed at serving the religious needs rather than social wellbeing, as the programme just makes students good at reading and memorizing the *Quran*. Also, practically it cannot be known as even a comprehensive religious education programme as it does not include translation and interpretation of the *Quran*. Socially and academically, students are not making significant progress through this programme.

The other category appointed by IIROSA Islamabad in running two schools (Dar Ali Bin Abi Talib and Dar Braiem) are simply called Teachers. IIROSA Islamabad advertises posts for teachers on a need basis. The teachers are selected through a developed mechanism qualifying written tests, interview and demonstration by the committee of IIROSA. The principal of Dar-e-Ali believes that a positive factor is that schools select Masters and MPhil qualified teachers who are subject specialists. However, it is a controversial point as the school education system requires a trained teacher who has a degree in Certificate Training (C.T), Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) or Masters of Education (M.Ed.). By having these degrees, the teacher is better able to

⁶³Learning *Quran* by using correct pronunciation

understand teaching methods, students' psyche and the strategies to train students educationally, psychologically and morally. Orphans especially need such experts (Sayers& Payle 2006). On the other hand, M.Phil. Qualified teachers stay dissatisfied with their job in a school where they are assigned elementary classes. As a teacher remarks

The mental level of the middle-class students is lower than the teaching skills of an MPhil teacher. Alongside, it is very difficult for the research-oriented teacher to come to the mental level of a child. I can teach the students of the ninth and matric class, as they are motivated and inspired to learn new things and doing something in life and I myself feel a bit satisfied that I can deliver them something productive, and my struggles are responded (Naeem 2017, pers. comm., 13March).

The above statement not only shows some dissatisfaction by a teacher to the selected category of teachers for the orphanage, but a kind of frustration in the educational system of a country where MPhil qualified persons teach in schools which are incompatible with his academic capability and does not provide better opportunities to utilize his knowledge and skills. Teachers work on a fixed salary deprived of any increments, allowances and other privileges.

7.3.2. Education for Girls in Jamia Asriyya Lilbanat

The concept of girls' education contains primary, secondary and higher education for females. When all girls and females of a society can access education, this alone helps to maintain gender equality and poverty alleviation. Most of the outstanding aid organisations focus on girls' education (UNESCO 2017). So far, no particular research or results have been forthcoming regarding the role of Islamic charities in female education. This research attempts to find out the contribution of IIROSA to girls' education. For girls' education IIROSA Islamabad does not run its own institutes in an identical way to the projects for boys' education; Dar Ali Bin Abi Talib and Dar-e-Dar Braiem. Because of security concerns the organisation refrains from the idea of building orphan houses or educational institutes for girls. For girls' education the organisation is

financially supporting an established education institute, Jamia Asriyya⁶⁴, Jhelum, Punjab.

The role of IIROSA Islamabad in Jamia Asriyya girls' wing started in 2001 when Jamia approached the organisation for funding. The team of the organisation visited the girls' campus and paid a fixed amount to complete the construction of the building. Since 2002, IIROSA started paying funds to Jamia, the funding is released biannually or annually depending upon the release of funds from the Jeddah office⁶⁵. IIROSA contributes to the expenses of the girls' wing of Jamia these include hostel expenses, food for 100 girls, the salary of 52 people including teachers and administration workers, construction and repairing, maintenance of the buildings (Ghani 2017, pers. comm., 10March). As IIROSA is sponsoring Jamia they have been instructed not to take any fees from students of Islamic education (Khaasa, Aaliyah, Aamila). The fees for the students of Montessori and primary and middle are nominal (Azim 2017, pers. comm., 6March).

Jamia Asriyya offers various levels of education; (i) Montessori (ii) Primary and Middle School (Grade 1st to 8th) (iii) Islamic Education equivalent to Secondary School and Higher Secondary School (Aama, Khaasa) and (iv) Islamic Education equivalent to Graduation and Post-graduation (Aaliyah, Aalima). Montessori has a co-education system consisting of 3 levels; playgroup, nursery and KG For primary and middle school, the Punjab text book board's syllabus is applied. In the course of Islamic studies, *Quran Nazira* is compulsory for classes' three to five. For classes four to six *Hifaz-ul-Quran* is an optional subject, students who are interested in the memorization of the *Quran* have to finish their studies and are expected to attain full memorization by the time they reach classes eight or ten depending upon their performance (Nahid 2017,

⁶⁴Jamia Asriyya girls' wing is personal property of the head of the Jamia. Jamia established in the 1980s before that there was a small mosque on the plot. A relative of the head of the department from Saudi Arabia proposed the idea of constructing a madrasah contributing 5000/Rs. The head was not rich enough to construct the madrasah from his own expenses, therefore, the person who proposed the idea of a madrasah started collecting funds in Saudi Arabia for that cause. The head accompanied by his father visited Saudi Arabia and received funds, thereby the construction of girls' madrasah started.

⁶⁵IIROSA Islamabad gives yearly funding to Jamia which fluctuates every year. They inform the head about the yearly amount, the excessive expenditures are paid by them. The last funding was donated in 2012 since then no funding has been paid, the remaining funding will probably be collectively released in 2017. In the case when funding is delayed from IIROSA Islamabad, the head office of Jamia Asriyya meets all the expenses for the time period as it has boys wing and other campuses around the city, which help to meet the expenses of the girls' wing until funds are released from IIROSA.

pers. comm., 10 March). The students who do not choose memorization of the *Quran* as an optional subject have to do the course *Tafsir-ul-Quran* (which is compulsory). As said by the administration of Jamia girls' wing, they apply a non-sectarian policy because the students of school belong to various sectarian backgrounds. In the *Tafseer* course of the school, the teacher tries to teach only a translation of the *Quran*, or they interpret *Ayat* with reference to the Prophet's sayings (*Ahadith*). Teachers do not touch or address any Islamic problems. In contradiction to the argument of the administration, Jamia is affiliated to the *Wafaqul-MadarisSalafia*, and the teachers are graduates of the same *Wafaq* so they impart the same learning to the school's students.

After middle school, girls join *Aama* which is equal to secondary level education, then *Khaasa* equal to higher secondary level education, *Aaliyah* equal to Graduation (B.A and B.Sc.) and lastly *Aalima* equal to Masters level education. The fees structure of Jamia Asriyya is very reasonable and range from 300/Rs to 900/Rs, however, for the course of *Aaliyah* the education is free of cost. Similarly, Jamia does not charge fees to orphans. The hostel is free for all students and it includes food and a dispensary. As extra curricular activities, girls are encouraged to participate in debating competitions, *Qirat* and *Naat* competitions. Jamia stress vocational training as well so that the students especially orphan girls should have some skills enabling to earn even during their time of education. Jamia has appointed skilled female tailors to train girls in sewing and stitching (Nahid 2017, pers. comm., 10 March).

Regarding social development and welfare of Jamia students and their role in society, the administration of Jamia Al-Asria states:

As the degree of *Aalima* is equal to double master so the girls who completing their education can join any academic institute as a teacher of Islamic studies and Arabic. Besides, they can join research field as well. Vocational training is an additional advantage to them. This way Jamia empowers them socially and economically. From a religious perspective, Islamic teaching teaches them the ways of social behaviours, and disciplined life like tolerance, patience, justice, dealing with people. These qualities help them to be a strong mother, wife and a colleague. As the compromise and tolerance level of these girls is higher, therefore, the divorced cases of Islamically educated girls are lower because they understand better the notion of rights and duties.

This is an opinion, there is no any statistical proof debating the ratio of divorce among the students of religious education and non-religious/worldly education. However, the point about discipline and social behaviours in the life of a student of Islamic theology is relatively notable as Islamic education underscores social behaviours of women as one of the basic teachings of Islam. Islam dictates to women how they should live and behave. These instructions cover almost all aspects of her life from the principles of dress code to responsibilities as a wife. As the *Quran* states “Men are the managers of the affairs of women because *Allah* has made the one superior to the other and because men spend their wealth on women. Virtuous women are, therefore, obedient (to their husband); and they guard in his absence what *Allah* would have them guard (their honour, their property, etc.) (Quran 4:34).

Also, *Hadith*- Al-Tirmidhi number 3254, Narrated Anas ibn Malik: *Allah's* Messenger said “If a woman prays five-time salat, fasts during *Ramadan*, preserves her chastity and obeys her husband, she will be told, "Enter Paradise through those gates that you want!". According to this verse and *Hadith* pleasure, comfort and having a happy husband is the only focus of a woman's life. The women who will deny or go against all these commands will face disgrace in the world and hereafter. As Amr bin al-Harith al Mutalib said in *Hadith* number 359 of At Tirmidhi: "It used to be said that the people with the worst punishment [on the Day of Judgment] are two: A woman who disobeyed her husband, and a people's *Imam* whom they dislike". Abu Umamah narrated in *Hadith* 360 of At Tirmidhi that *Allah's* Messenger said: "There are three whose Salat would not rise up beyond their ears: The runaway slave until he returns, a woman who spends a night while her husband is angry with her, and a people's *Imam* whom they dislike”. In the face of these commands and risks of punishment, a woman is compelled to enhance her level of tolerance and patience even at the cost of her own discomfort.

On the other hand, the general education system throughout the world including Pakistan emphasises gender equality. Therefore, women educated under a modern and advanced education system have a different life style and manner than those educated in madrasah or Jamia. The behaviour of girl students who are learning under advanced/general education is influenced by their domestic and social environment as well as subject of studies.

7.3.3. Grant of Scholarship to Overseas Students

Mainstream development organisations provide national and international students with partial or full funding for higher studies. Following the pattern of mainstream organisations, Islamic charities have included similar kinds of objectives in their mission. IIROSA Islamabad also runs a scholarship programme for Pakistani and foreign students supporting their studies and research in various disciplines at university level in Pakistan. However, it was noticed that IIROSA also funded some students who were studying out of Pakistan. Students, who ask for a grant, are required to submit documents to the Islamabad office including enrolment cards, progress reports, character certificates, academic documents, passports and visa. Their documents are sent to the Jeddah office for evaluation with a recommendation letter. For the extension of a scholarship grant, a candidate is asked for the same documents. This foreign funding is not full funding, it is just a partial amount paid in consideration of the student's qualification and the field of studies in view of the research benefit to Pakistan. For instance, the candidate doing a PhD in Malaysia would get Rs. 160,000 Pakistani rupees annually, and the person enrolled in the PhD program in China Rs.67,000 annually (Azim 2017, pers. comm., 16February).

In 2005-2006, the total number of scholarship beneficiaries was 42 students. These students belonged to seven countries including China, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Nepal, Philippine, Sri Lanka and Mozambique. They were studying in different universities in Pakistan and they approached IIROSA for partial funding. In 2007, the number was reduced to 21 students from the same six countries. Currently, only four students two male and two females are benefiting from these funds. Among these four students, three are Pakistanis and one female student belongs to Iraq. The students are studying in different countries, a female student is doing a PhD in Malaysia, and the other woman is doing a Masters in Iraq. One male candidate is doing a PhD from China and the other is doing a PhD at Mansehra University

Mostly development organisations paying for scholarships provide students with a comprehensive list of educational institutions and help them through the enrollment process. IIROSA Jeddah and Islamabad do not cooperate with students in these terms. In order to learn about the benefits of this scholarship, it was necessary to understand the opinions of the beneficiaries of the scholarships, but IIROSA Islamabad did not share any information about the candidates.

7.4. Health Care Programme

High quality and affordable health care system is a right for all individuals especially those with low incomes. Reasonable health provision is one of the key factors of social development. However, it is a great responsibility of government to develop easily accessible health services for individuals and cover all perspectives including quality, costs, accessibility, delivery, and use. However, in developing countries, common people are deprived of the facility of an ideal health care service (Steinwachs & Hughes 2008). In these countries, people die every year because of diseases, lack of a proper medical care system and the inability to bear the costs of medical treatment. Children are deprived of immunisation at an early age (Peters et al.2008).

Pakistan is also facing critical issues concerning health care. Medical problems are numerous owing to atmospheric pollution, water contamination, impurities of food materials, unhygienic living conditions and above all the poor socio-economic conditions. In order to tackle these issues, the country not only needs an advanced health system but the availability of a good health service at minimum costs.

IIROSA contributes to the health sector as a social development programme. Working in Pakistan its contributions refer to aware communities about health issues, preventing health risks, opening clinics and hospitals at local level to familiarize people with health issues, addressing the key determinants of health for promotion of better health at inexpensive rates.

The link between Health sectors/ Medical clinics of Islamic charities/social institutes and social movement theory is aptly described by the Clark (2004, p.). He refers to certain principles, which explains how Medical centers of Islamic social institutes are an asset to the community. He believes these centers are based in collective actions, which mobilize citizens for shared purposes. These health centers/clinics/hospitals are results of resource mobilization, and these resources are shared by the community, which enables people to have control over the society and enable them to have more access to advanced health and well-being.

Health centers of Islamic social institutes join forces/institutions on local and international level for knowledge and experiences. They work in accordance with the cultural demands and people's expectations. Additionally, they make sure that decisions and actions are rooted in local experiences and build on the assets and experiences of

the community. These principles are empirically found in the medical services as well as primary health-care facilities of IIROSA in many parts of the country. IIROSA is conducting permanently established projects and seasonal health projects in Pakistan. The established projects include Gulf Medical Centre, Badar Hospital, and Al-Khair Medical Centre (IIROSA 2003).

7.4.1. Gulf Medical Centre, Rawalpindi

The Gulf Centre is not a hospital. It is a Gulf approved medical/fitness centre, created to provide medical examinations to expatriates intending to join the Labour Market in the GCC countries or visiting family. Currently, there are 14 GCC fitness centres in different cities of Pakistan; the Gulf Centre Rawalpindi is one of them. The Gulf Centre works under IIROSA for the reason this GCC Association has given this fitness project to IIROSA Jeddah and with the approval of the Jeddah office, this centre works in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. This project is a fund generating project of IIROSA Islamabad. The earnings of this project are utilized by the centre itself and for other different ongoing projects of IIROSA in different regions of Pakistan. This is the only fund generating project of IIROSA Islamabad.

The Gulf Centre follows all GCC rules and regulations including fees structure. The Centre is not allowed to take any steps against GCC rules, therefore, it has to charge fees from all the applicants, and it is not permitted to reduce fees for poor patients because it is not a charity centre but a fund generating centre. This project makes IIROSA Islamabad self-sufficient. After the 9/11 attacks, following the orders of the Saudi Arabian government, IIROSA had refused funds to branch offices for some time; during that time, the idea of the Gulf Centre emerged and this project helped IIROSA Islamabad to run its established projects. Since then the Gulf Centre has been generating funds for IIROSA Islamabad. The GCC Association members visit the centre every year.

7.4.2. Badar Hospital, Peshawar

Badar Hospital was established to provide medical facilities to Afghan refugees. It is basically an Obstetrician-Gynaecologist hospital, and Paediatric hospital comprising of an in-patients and out-patients department, laboratory, x-ray, ultrasound and pharmacy department. Primarily, it was being used for Afghan immigrant families but

with the passage of time and repatriation of many Afghan refugees to Afghanistan, the hospital is serving lower income groups of Pakistan (IIROSA 2004). The mission of Badar hospital is to provide people with inexpensive levels of treatment, enable women to have good outcomes in pregnancy and to provide very good health facilities to patients at a minimum cost. Initially, the hospital appointed Afghan medical staff, after the repatriation of Afghans, the staff was gradually replaced with Pakistani nationals (IIROSA 2006). There are 25 beds in the in-patient Department in which about 3000 to 4000 patients are admitted yearly (IIROSA 2011). When the hospital was serving Afghan refugees it was completely costless, but now there are nominal costs/charges and the patients bring their own medicines (Umema 2017, pers. comm., 6March).

The hospital works as a charity hospital as it charges flexible fees or offers free treatment. The health consultants in Badar hospital charge 1/4th of the total amount being charged by the consultant in other hospitals as normal fees. Currently, the normal market price of a health consultant in Pakistan is -Rs- 25-30,000/ for normal delivery, however, in Badar hospital, they charge -Rs-5000/. If a patient cannot afford -Rs-5000/-, there is flexibility in how they pay their fees and it is based on what they can afford. Similarly, in a private hospital the caesarean delivery costs nearly -Rs- 75,000/, the cost includes approximately -Rs- 52,000/ for the surgeon, room charges and medicines, but Badar hospital provides all these facilities including a stay for 5 days, medical investigation, surgery, taking care of a patient all at nearly -Rs-25,000/. Thereby, the treatment fees are flexible in the Badar hospital (Zahooruddin 2017, pers. comm., 1March).

Discussing the facilities provided by the hospital to the women for delivery, a female beneficiary narrates as:

That is my second delivery in Badar hospital. I like the hospital for several reasons that I did not witness during my first delivery in a government hospital. The first reason is service. Here doctors and nurses are always on duty. Their attitude is very polite and sympathetic to the pregnant ladies, they take care of her. Besides, it is an affordable hospital for a poor community. Ultrasound facility is free of cost and the most important thing is this it is taken by the lady staff. The result of the laboratory is good. Whatever tests are required all are taken within the premises of Badar hospital, we do not need to go elsewhere for tests. Delivery fee is only 5000/ and no other medical fees is to be paid by the patients. Comparatively, other hospitals charge a lot.

As stated clearly, the above lines advocate the mission projects of Islamic charities for poor people. Prevailing literature on social movement theory advocates the catering of social organisations to poor community's needs. The above statement does not mean that Islamic charities generally condemn the services of the government and other secular NGOs; or they try to replace them. IIROSA, for example, has projects/centres in many countries dealing specifically with the poor; through its social work it only ensures that its projects are not receiving funds from other sources and thereby raising and generating its own funds/income to a level that it should not be dependent upon secular organisations.

Apart from routine delivery cases, Badar hospital undertakes some special responsibilities. For instance, sometimes if the pregnant woman is diagnosed with any major disease such as gallstones or a hernia or any other type of surgical disease, all can be the immediate cause of delivery, in such situations, the hospital calls a surgeon, whose charges depend on the status of the hospital, in some cases the surgeon does volunteer surgeries (Umema 2017, pers. comm., 6March). Commenting on the charitable position of the hospital a beneficiary (pregnant woman) said:

The charity hospitals of government only provide nurses and doctors. The moment a pregnant woman enters a hospital she has to pay 1000 for the OPD slip, sometimes drugs are available and sometimes the patient has to purchase her own medicines. A patient has to pay for an ultrasound as well. All these so-called facilities are for the normal case, however, the surgery case is exempted from all these facilities despite that they are recognised as charity hospitals. In comparison to it, Badar hospital takes only -Rs-100/ for OPD slip, doctors examine the patient free of charge, ultrasound and all medicines are free of charge.

This statement shows the difference between the charity hospital of non-profit and for-profit organisations. Furthermore, it appears the weaknesses of the government based charitable hospitals in Pakistan that need a special attention of governments. Over the years, the image of the charitable hospital has been distorted because the administrators use them as a business rather than making positive use of these healthcare facilities for social service and human welfare. If used positively charitable contribution of the non-profit hospitals to communities are countless. The hospital

which achieves that image it can benefit people in a number of ways. Such hospitals help states in their welfare missions.

Badar hospital also provides health facilities for new born babies. The Nursery ward takes care of premature or new born babies who need radiation for jaundice or eye- antibiotics for fever in the early days. The hospital admits the babies and takes care of them for a few days. There is no fee for the nursery, it is part of the delivery process. The hospital arranges free medical camps in the nearby areas of Peshawar for 2-3 months where doctors and nurses work free of cost and free medicines are delivered. Badar Hospital is self-sufficient, it does not need funds from IIROSA unless it needs major equipment or to construct a new laboratory (Umema 2017, pers. comm., 6March).

The distinction of Badar hospital is only for women. For this reason, both Middle Class and poor come to this hospital. Discussing the reasons why women prefer Badar hospital over other hospitals, an Afghan lady said:

My husband is in good service, my family can afford my expensive delivery and treatment, but the reason to prefer this hospital is a special arrangement of “*Pardah*”⁶⁶. The entire staff consists of ladies, no male entry is allowed inside the hospital. And the second one reason is this hospital has served Afghan refugees extensively that is why it is popular among the Afghan families who are still living in Pakistan.

As stated by IIROSA Islamabad, the purpose of this hospital is strictly for women and has all *pardah* and partition facilities which were established when it was set up for Afghan refugee women. These women were strictly used to *pardah* and female doctors. After the repatriation of Afghan refugees, the office did not change the structure of the hospital as most of the women (pregnant) come from the surrounding areas and also practice these traditions.

Conducted interviews with research participants reveal that female workers and patients in IIROSA hospitals believe that an Islamic clinic must have much more than a reference to Islam in its name. At a very minimum, patients generally expect to find a higher degree of personal attention, care, charity, and honesty in Islamic clinics. This research discloses the fact that they expect an Islamic clinic to provide some sort of

⁶⁶*Pardah*, meaning curtain or veiling, is commonly used for regulating female modesty in Muslim societies (Khatwani2016).

model that follows Islamic precepts. They generally assume that there will be some degree of segregation between the sexes. Female patients (and their husbands) assume that they will find female gynaecologists. Many Pakistanis expect all females working in Islamic associations to be dressed modestly and veiled. Many also expect that staff in the clinics will observe five-time prayers. Certainly, IIROSA attempts to provide such a model hospital that is strenuously attempting to fulfil these criteria (Clark, pp. 69-70).

7.4.3. Al-Khair Hospital, Islamabad

IIROSA Islamabad had applied for another GCC approved diagnostic centre as fund generating centre in Islamabad. Following the terms of approval for the centre, IIROSA Islamabad hired a building for the diagnostic centre in Islamabad for one year and spent almost 70-80 lakh in the setup because it was a condition of GCC. The applicants needed to show the setup prior to having the approval of the centre. When IIROSA Islamabad completed the setup, GCC asked the government to issue a license. The office informed GCC that there was no health regulatory authority working in Islamabad, therefore, they could establish the centre without a government license. GCC did not accept the request and rejected the proposal. As Islamabad office had spent a big amount on the centre, a request went to IIROSA Jeddah asking them to approve the centre as a temporary commercial branch with the name Al-Khair Hospital. Now, the project is working in Islamabad (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20March).

The hospital charges nominal fees. Currently, there are 3 consultants, medical officers and other required staff. Medical officers charge only -Rs-50/ The health coordinator tries to convince consultants to work voluntarily or charge a nominal fee up to -Rs-300/ or keep 70% of the fees and give 30% to the hospital as a donation. At present, a gynaecologist, an orthopaedic, a radiologist, a physician are serving voluntarily in the hospital. Some doctors charge patients -Rs-300/ and donate it to the hospital. The other hospital facilities like X-Ray, Ultra-sound and other laboratory tests are also charged on 1/4th that of the market price (Zahooruddin 2017, pers. comm., 1March).

7.4.4. Seasonal Health Programme

Apart from the three established projects, the health care programme of IIROSA Islamabad conducts some seasonal free medical camp programmes as well. Health

‘camps’ are one of the strategies adopted by both government and non-government organisations. Health camps consist of teams of health professionals in a particular area where any disease breaks out or if inhabitants are unable to afford the expensive treatment (Peters & Bloom 2008). Among the seasonal programmes, the most prominent health programme of IIROSA Islamabad is free eye camps. The health team visits remote areas of the country and operate on cataracts and glaucoma patients. The request for camps is sent by local people of the area. The health team works in cooperation with the local government of the area. They provide infrastructure and food for the team. In 2016, the eye camps were held in Rajanpur, Muzaffargarh, Mansehra, Muzaffarabad where around 4000 people were treated collectively and also provided with medicines (Junaid 2017, pers. comm., 2March).

Additionally, IIROSA Islamabad holds free health camps in the times of emergency. For instance, in 2005 IIROSA Islamabad sent 4 mobile clinics with doctors and paramedical staff including medicine to save the lives of victims in an earthquake disaster area of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) in Batal, Jabori, Gul Khalasi, Ugi, Batgram, Gari, Habib Ullah and Balakot of District of Mansehra. IIROSA Islamabad established a tent village of 400 tents in the College ground of Balakot in consultation with the Pakistani Army where their staff worked 24 hours to help the victims. The Islamabad office sent two medical teams including doctors and paramedical staff who worked in the village tents, one team was always available in the camp and the other would visit different villages to help the sick, wounded and needy persons of the area hit. The health team of the organisation also helped in moving patients to different hospitals if required in their own ambulances. Approximately 300 patients received free medical treatment and medicines daily from IIROSA Islamabad (IIROSA 2005).

Furthermore, the flood of 2010 damaged hospitals, medical centres and the medical system in the flood-affected regions of Pakistan. IIROSA Islamabad arranged medical field camps with doctors and surgeons from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The doctors’ team comprised of 30 members all came from Saudi Arabia. Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz sent them by a chartered plane with a huge quantity of medicine and foodstuff. They installed medical camps in Noshara & Charsada of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province in August 2010. While returning to Saudi Arabia they gave spare medicines to the government of Pakistan to distribute freely to patients. In

addition, a medical camp was arranged by Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz for the Punjab Province in the month of September 2010. He sent his personal plane with 30 doctors for this purpose. This medical team brought a huge quantity of life-saving drugs, water filters, and sprays machines along with medicine and also distributed foodstuffs among the flood victims (IIROSA Report 2010). IIROSA Islamabad's health department also reached Chitral districts with medical facilities after the flash floods in 2017 (Zahooruddin 2017, pers. comm., 1March).

The data about the health activities of IIROSA in Pakistan only shows this project's active involvement in the two provinces Punjab and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Islamabad. It seems the other two provinces in Pakistan (Sindh and Baluchistan) have not sufficiently benefitted from this project. There are various reasons for them being less active in Sindh and Baluchistan. The first reason is the long distances from Islamabad to these provinces. In order to be more active in Sindh and Baluchistan, IIROSA Islamabad will have to open branch offices in these two provinces to monitor activities. This project needs more income and the consent of IIROSA Jeddah. The Jeddah office does not allow more than one office in any country because of financial constraints and security issues.

7.5. Water Resources Project

Providing clean water is one of 17 Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations, but in developing countries like Pakistan, there are locations where people have no access to safe drinking water and face difficulties in getting water because of the lack of water resources. In view of this frustrating situation, several NGOs (secular and faith-based) try to provide water pumps, commonly known as Hand-pumps, to the natives of remote areas (Stehlin 2016). Facilitating access to water resources is also one of the policies of IIROSA Jeddah. As Pakistan has also been facing drought for past several years, there is a shortage of water in rivers and canals and the shortage of water creates many problems for common people. Sometimes people are forced to bring the water from remote areas. International Islamic Relief Organisations plan to provide clean and pure drinking water to poor communities of Pakistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir especially in the rural and neglected areas (IIROSA 2005). However, the name of the project is digging wells, but it is not actually a well, but a hand-pump which has replaced wells under the IIROSA project. Following the programme IIROSA Islamabad

provides hand-pumps to villages, who apply for one or two. The number of digging projects for pumps depends on the number of applications, it varies every year, and therefore, the amount spent on the project also varies every year (Muneeb 2017, pers. comm., 2 March).

This project is not highly appreciated by beneficiaries. According to local people of Tharparkar, Sindh, IIROSA provides water hand-pumps, however, their working lives are short and once the pump has problems, it is no longer the responsibility of the organisation that then refuse to repair it. In view of the poor functioning of hand-pumps, IIROSA Islamabad has suggested that the Jeddah office ought to replace the hand-pumps with water machines in remote villages.

7.6. Summary

All secular and faith-based aid organisations conduct social development initiatives. These initiatives aim to improve the living conditions of underprivileged communities through education projects, income support programmes, reducing burdens of expenditures, focusing on health in the community, or providing clean water facilities. IIROSA Islamabad is contributing to two fields in Pakistan including social development and humanitarian assistance. Regarding social development, the organisation coordinates the policy development programmes with the Islamic interpretation. The sections of the social field where IIROSA attempts to create coordination between religion and contemporary development policies are four including social protection, education, health, and water resources. Concerning the social protection programme, IIROSA has a policy of supporting orphans. The organisation is running the orphan programme through three initiatives, among them the major priority is given to its own built orphanages. In order to extend the orphans programme to some other cities of Pakistan, IIROSA Islamabad coordinates with some earlier established orphanages of Pakistan. The purpose of affiliation is to support accommodation and education of the orphans of these centres. Besides, for the orphans of those cities, which are far away from Islamabad, IIROSA has third category of orphans' programme; under this category the home-based children of different cities are sponsored through various sources, one of these sources is Baitul Maal.

IIROSA is also contributing to the education sector. The education policy of IIROSA is at variance with the policies of mainstream development organisations. The

big share of its education goes to *Quran* circles and Islamic education of girls of Jamia Asriyya. Alongside, the salary of the teachers of orphanage schools, there is a small number of higher education scholarships as part of this project.

Under the health programme, IIROSA Islamabad is running two hospitals and one fitness centre. Badar Hospital and Al-Khair Hospital run a charity programme. However, the Gulf medical/fitness centre, a fund generating programme, is responsible for the health examination of the emigrants to GCC countries. Facilitating access to water is also one of the social development programmes of the organisation. Under this project, the organisation provides hand-pumps to the areas that request these facilities. The next chapter explores the humanitarian assistance programme of IIROSA Islamabad for the victims of disasters in all the regions of Pakistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK).

Chapter 8: Humanitarian Assistance of IIROSA to Pakistan

8.1. Introduction

In their efforts to bring reforms in the larger society, Transnational Organisations come into connection with other political actors (states/NGOs). Also, they attempt to embed in a wider set of social and political networks of the country through their activities to create more opportunities and options. Theories of social movements can both be relevant starting points for investigating these relationships. This chapter discusses IIROSA and its humanitarian activities that constitute an important part of this organization's sphere of action. As a humanitarian organisation it works as a social network made up of like-minded individuals who are involved and focused around a particular topic of humanitarian assistance. The narrative of collective action approach of social movement theory helps to understand how IIROSA Jeddah is bound to work for the protection and safety of common people generally and collectively during times of emergency (Purdue Derrick 2007, pp 69-70).

Emergency situations are sometimes natural but, in some cases, they are caused by people. In emergency situations, the main function of relief organisations would be to move victims to the safest places provide food, shelter and household items and immediately make available required healthcare facilities. This chapter gives a detailed account regarding the development of the Humanitarian Assistance Program with the help of different international organisations. The Humanitarian Assistance Project of IIROSA comprises of two categories including an emergency relief project and seasonal projects. The emergency project donates funds to victims of natural and man-made disasters.

This chapter outlines some major disasters in Pakistan when IIROSA operated; mobilizing food packages for survivors of disasters, responding to health emergencies, protecting IDPs who lost their homes and livelihoods. Regarding the seasonal programmes of the organisation, this chapter asks why and how IIROSA tries to help people celebrate religious days/festivities. As IIROSA is an Islamic organisation following the religious ideology, it helps their Muslim brethren to celebrate two religious festivals, *Eid al-Adha* and *Eid al-Fitr*, with spirit and convenience.

8.2. Conceptualizing “Humanitarian Assistance”

Aid and actions designed to alleviate human beings’ suffering are generally categorized as Humanitarian Assistance activities. Humanitarian Assistance is one of the mechanisms of human development. Some of the common characteristics of humanitarian assistance are saving lives and protecting human dignity during man-made (armed conflict) and natural disasters, by empowering people, suffering is prevented and a facilitation and transition towards peaceful development occurs (IFRC 2013). Assistance is given on a short term and long-term basis depending on the severity of the situation. Principally, the objective of humanitarian assistance is to save human lives and alleviate human suffering on account of need wherever it is found. It is to be provided without discrimination and favouritism, free of any political, economic, and military interests. The main areas of humanitarian assistance are food, security, health, shelter, refugees’ issues, and peacekeeping missions. In the disaster zone, the imperatives of neutrality and impartiality demand that aid agents should work neutrally without being an agent of any party and distribute donations evenly among all victims (Wohlgemuth 2006).

The term Humanitarian Assistance was coined in the nineteenth century when the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement⁶⁷ took an institutional form in humanitarian cooperation (Dave et al.2013). Generally, this movement aimed at protecting human life, health and dignity and alleviate human sufferings. Under this movement, so far, several distinct organisations are working with those aims in mind, the major institutions working world wide are the International Committee of the Red Cross⁶⁸ (ICRC), The International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and Nation Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (ICRC 2013).

In Geneva 1863, under the leadership of the ICRC, an international conference was held; the aim was to improve medical services on the battlefield. In the following years, national societies of the ICRC were founded in nearly every country in Europe. Only a year later, in August 1864, following the recommended resolutions of the

⁶⁷This movement particularly started the formation of national voluntary relief organisations to nurse wounded soldiers in the case of war and to guarantee the protection of neutral medics and field hospitals for soldiers wounded on the battlefield.

⁶⁸ICRC came into being as an impartial, neutral and independent organisation which attempted to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance.

conference, the first Geneva Convention was adopted. The legally binding rules of the convention guaranteed impartial and neutral protection and medicinal relief facilities for wounded soldiers. Immediately, national societies were founded in seven countries Belgium, Denmark, France, Oldenburg, Prussia, Spain and Wurttemberg and in the following years, societies were founded in almost all member states of Europe. These national societies assumed responsibility of aid and relief as defined by International Humanitarian Law within their home country (IFRC 2015).

In 1919, five representative states from the national Red Cross Societies including Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the US founded the “the League of Red Cross Societies” (later named IFRC). The League expanded the international activities of the Red Cross movement beyond the strict remit of the ICRC to include relief assistance to counter emergency situations, which were not caused by armed conflict, but due to others reasons. The key tasks of the IFRC include promoting humanitarian principles and values, providing relief assistance in emergency situations, i.e. natural disasters, supporting national societies in being disaster prepared through the education of voluntary members, the provision of equipment and relief supplies, supporting local healthcare projects and supporting national societies with youth-related activities. It was the most important initiative regarding humanitarian assistance to date because the principles, which had been founded so far, were purely concerned with the combat zone (IFRC 2015).

In 1949, in reaction to the experiences of World War II, the ICRC made another initiative, the Fourth Geneva Convention; a new convention related to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Times of War was established. Also, the additional protocols on June 8, 1977, were intended to make the conventions apply to internal conflicts such as civil wars (Bugnion 2002). The institutional developments in the 20th century; especially the establishment of League of Nations after the end of WW-I and, the establishment of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) after WW-II proved to be a big supporter of humanitarian causes. The main objective of the UNO was promoting world peace, protecting human rights, helping the development of countries, promoting better relations between countries, to smooth the progress of international law and to facilitate international security (UNO 2015).

Currently, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) is working to strengthen the UN’s response to complex emergencies and

natural disasters. After the establishment of the UN and with the process of decolonization beginning, the concept of humanitarian needs and humanitarian assistance was extended. It extended from the protection of people in natural disasters and armed conflicts to alleviating poverty and inequality. Under development was considered a big threat to humanity. With this comprehensive approach, the centre of humanitarian action also shifted from Europe to Asia and Africa. In addition, the number of INGOs and NGOs augmented the concept of humanitarian assistance with wide-ranging approaches (Burke 2015).

With the movement of humanitarian initiatives from Europe to Africa and Asia, the international aid agencies and the aid workers realized that faith-based organisations have much better access to common people in disaster-ridden areas. The initiatives of the faith communities and organisations are broadly followed by local people especially where religious ideology influences their minds. In such countries, the presence of faith-based organisations in addition to their dimensions for critical service facilitates means their approach to local communities, earns support and trust and makes them vital stakeholders in the development sector (UNDP 2014).

Since the mid twentieth century, the emergence of Transnational Islamic faith-based organisations/charities also had great access to needy people around the world. These organisations had a much better approach to victimized communities in Islamic regions because they had a spiritual link to these communities. For instance, in the war-torn region of Somalia, Transnational Islamic agencies had more influence than secular development organisations. Their significant standing and influence among local communities make faith-based organisations a vital stakeholder in the development field. The United Nations has endorsed and acknowledged the development initiatives of FBOs. The UNDP engages FBOs in many areas including democratic governance, sustainable development, conflict prevention, peacebuilding, poverty reduction, combating HIV/AIDS, and promoting women's rights and gender equality. Furthermore, the UNHCR, UNICEF, the UNDP, the WHO and other specialized agencies are engaged with the FBOs through different initiatives (Hall 2015).

It is mandatory to mention here that the UN requires all humanitarian and relief organisations secular or faith-based to observe certain Humanitarian principles and standards of conduct during humanitarian work. These principles have been developed with the assistance of various international actors over the past several years. The

source of these principles is Humanitarian Law and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Initially it was a 10-point code of conduct for humanitarian work. Subsequently, in 1997, UNICEF revised the set of principles and proposed certain commonly considered humanitarian standards, which could be easily observed in the field by workers. The proposed core humanitarian principles in the revised list include Humanity ii) Neutrality iii) Impartiality iv) Independence v) Accountability vi) Protecting vulnerable victims, in particular women and children viii) Consideration for culture and customs.

The UNDP is a UN specialized agency designed to counter and mitigate humanitarian crises and operates activities at times of disaster. The agency also works with states and international organisations to prepare in advance and prevent crises. The UNDP proposes basic relief operations and rehabilitation processes for times of emergency on national levels. The actions include: i) Feeding the hungry; ii) Healing the sick; iii) Helping displaced people; iv) Protecting children and women.

Over all IIROSA's approach towards Humanitarian Assistance emerged to merge reactivity and opportunity, which is the political opportunity narrative of social movement theory. The Saudi Kingdom's developing interest and communication concerning its humanitarian assistance program for its national pride and influence in regional and global economy has been fully employed by IIROSA. Exploring the Humanitarian Assistance Programme of this organisation in Islamabad, the following sections analyse the compatibility of actions of this organisation with the proposed activities and principles of Humanitarian Assistance Programmes presented by UN agencies.

8.3. Humanitarian Assistance Projects

Being a Relief Organisation IIROSA Jeddah conducts humanitarian assistance programmes in different parts of the world since the time of its establishment. With the help of its branch offices, it undertakes the Humanitarian assistance/Relief programmes through three projects including an Emergency Relief Project, *Iftar* Project and *Qurbani* Project.

8.3.1. Emergency Relief Projects

The emergency relief project delivers assistance to victims of natural and man-made disasters. The programme aims to alleviate the suffering of victimized communities following the core international principles of humanitarian assistance. The administration of IIROSA Islamabad believes that none of the revised principles of humanitarian assistance or codes of conducts proposed by UNICEF and the operational activities proposed by the UNDP clash with the Humanitarian principles of Islam (Saudi version of Islam). Therefore, IIROSA attempts to respect and follow the proposed actions and principles of the international humanitarian assistance programme in order to maintain its international standard.

IIROSA Islamabad extends its services throughout Pakistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) with the permission of the government of Pakistan and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In caring for refugees and displaced persons, it also cooperates with government agencies in all emergency relief operations. Additionally, it coordinates with the United Nations and its specialized agencies whenever they require assistance from the NGOs in reaching common people during times of humanitarian crisis. During an emergency situation, the organisation arranges shipments to the affected regions, sets up refugee camps in the devastated locations and caters for the basic needs of refugees and victims as well as attempting to meet their religious needs (IIRO 2007).

IIROSA Islamabad reaches devastated destinations in three ways; the people of disaster-affected regions request the organisation for help, or the organisation itself reaches the spot as it gets information about the disaster and the third way is to consider the request of the government/military or the UN for humanitarian assistance. There are again, three ways to meet a disaster. In some cases, IIROSA Islamabad has already funds in its account for emergency situations, for instance, on the eve of an earthquake in 2005, IIROSA Islamabad had emergency funds for this project. However, in some situations the headquarter in Jeddah sends goods and materials. For example, when the US attacked Afghanistan in 2001, the Jeddah office sent huge amounts of supplies and money to provide relief to refugees in camps on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. In the third situation, with the permission of the Jeddah office; IIROSA Islamabad uses saved money from any project to coordinate emergency responses. As I have discussed above IIROSA Islamabad has no record of activities before 2000, therefore, this chapter is only able to cover and assess the details of its performance from 2002.

8.3.2. Initiatives against Natural Disasters

Social movement theory is subject to spherical interpretation of IIROSA's initiatives for the victims of natural disasters, as it features, at least in part, deprivation theory. Deprivations and structural strains underlay motivations for social activism (Jenkins and Perrow 1977, p.3).

On October 3rd, 2002 a massive earthquake shook Northern Pakistan. Nineteen days after the first jolt, another earthquake hit the Astore Valley. The epicentre was a 5.5 magnitude quake which caused extensive damage, killing around 23 people, injuring several and completely destroyed seven villages in Northern areas and more than 15,000 people had been made homeless. The relief operation in Northern Areas was hampered by reasons of landslides, aftershocks and the onset of winter (DAWN 2018). The government of Pakistan handed over the responsibility to the Pak-army instructing them to reach the devastated areas and take with them the humanitarian organisations who would serve the community. Using helicopters, the Pak-army re-located the affected people and provided them food, blankets, tents and supplied medical facilities. The devastation of the shocks was greater than anticipated, therefore, the army called for the assistance of relief organisations (Abbas 2002). Along with other organisations, IIROSA supported the Pakistani army in its work providing ambulances, doctors, paramedical staff and holding emergency health camps. Coordination between the military and civilian society/humanitarian organisations for civilian defence and humanitarian purposes is seen as being part of ethical conduct; it comes under the principle of neutrality. Under humanitarian principles a relief organisation is responsible for not negating the needs of people and to consider the suffering of people, it should respond to calls by the state, military or international organisation for humanitarian purposes. One of the three core principles of humanitarian assistance (the UNO code), is neutrality, this also requires that any humanitarian organisation should be clear in what circumstances it would support the military as a last resort of assistance (when there is no other comparable civilian option).

Another massive earthquake jolted AJK and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) (renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) on October 8, 2005. The earthquake resulted in a high number of casualties and the destruction of infrastructure. The harsh winter weather, mountainous region, winter snow and the blockade of roads with landslides made the relief work tough and increased casualty rates. The crisis received

extensive national and international response. Pakistan's army, aviation, medical corps, infantry units and NGOs played an active role at the initial stage of the crisis (Storchak et al.2015). The IIROSA Islamabad office received containers of relief goods including blankets, foodstuff, dates, clothes, shoes, clothes etc. from its head office in Jeddah and dispatched them immediately using six trucks: 4 trucks were filled with food provisions and two trucks with Quilts to the District of Mansehra (see the Table 5 in the appendix).

In terms of humanitarian policy and the institutional context, there is recognition that gender and age are dimensions during humanitarian emergencies. Generally, it is acknowledged that women and children are more vulnerable in internally displaced communities, especially, pregnant women who worry about having a safe delivery during an emergency situation. Arranging shelter for children and women is the first priority for most of the humanitarian entities. Faith based humanitarian organisations insist on special tasks regarding rights of women and children during crises with reference to specific religious texts/teachings. In consideration of these vulnerabilities, IIROSA Islamabad established 'Tent Villages' for the survivors of the earthquake in 2005. A village of 400 tents was established in the College ground of Balakot and other tent villages were held in other affected areas for the victimized communities in consultation with the Pakistani army. Approximately, 700 families were provided tents and the total number of beneficiaries was around 16847 (see the table 6 in the appendix). The entire staff of IIROSA Islamabad worked to help victims in the tent village. In responding to health emergencies, the organisation provided two medical teams including doctors and paramedical staff along with medicines and first aid which was called in. One team was advised to stay available in the camp and the second was to visit different villages to help the wounded and needy persons. IIROSA Islamabad also helped in shifting patients to different hospitals whenever required by the medical team.

As a humanitarian organisation is responsible for mobilizing food for all large-scale displaced people, IIROSA managed 'feeding operations' in 2005. The organisation dispatched 126 trucks of relief goods to all the earthquake-ridden areas, each truck contained packages for 25 families including foodstuffs, water, shelter, heaters, quilts, blankets, plastic sheets, shoes, and clothes (IIRO 2005). The organisation also continued its relief activities in the earthquake affected areas of the NWFP and AJK in 2006. A number of containers of relief goods including, foodstuff, dates,

clothes, shoes, clothes etc. from its head office in Jeddah was distributed amongst victims of the earthquake (see the table 7 in the appendix) (IIRO 2006).

In emergency situations, it is imperative that humanitarian organisations try to understand local traditions and customs in order to win over local people enabling their work to go smoothly and easily. The human rights of victims in disaster areas are recognised internationally however, some interventions require particular sensitivity to local customs with regard to culture and religion. Faith based humanitarian organisations give special importance to this point with special consideration to the religious setting. As the earthquake of 2005 occurred during the month of *Ramadan*, IIROSA Islamabad tried to respond to the spiritual/religious needs/obligations of the survivors of this calamity. They established one big Tent Mosque so *Salat* could be performed. The organisation tried to support the earthquake affecters through the supply of free meals for *Sehri*⁶⁹ and *Iftar*⁷⁰. The organisation arranged for the distribution of *Iftar* in different areas like Batgram, Battle, Hassa of Balakot, the District Hospital of Mansehra in the first week of the earthquake. The office distributed Five hundred Rupees in cash as *Eidi*⁷¹ to injured people in different hospitals and medical relief camps of AJK and the NWFP (IIRO 2005).

Because of climate change, the coastal regions of Pakistan have been hit hard by frequent tropical cyclones. In June-July 2007, the Cyclone Yemini and floods shook South and Central Baluchistan, the adjacent regions of Sindh and the North-West Frontier Province (now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). The cyclone and floods caused severe casualties and destroyed infrastructure, agriculture and cattle (reliefweb 2007). In Baluchistan, fifteen districts were badly affected and around 150,000 people affected. Similarly, over 250 villages of Karachi, Sindh were completely destroyed by heavy rains especially its coastline areas including Kemari, Gadap, and Bin Qasim which were hardest-hit and the adjacent areas of the coastline like Thatta, Dadu and Mirpurkhas, Shahdadkot district were severely affected. Approximately 21,000 people were displaced in Sindh. In the NWFP, 925 houses in different districts were destroyed and

⁶⁹When Muslims eat before sunrise in the month of Ramazan for observing fast, it is called *Sehri*.

⁷⁰When Muslims eat after sunset in the month of Ramazan for breaking fast, it is called *Iftar*.

⁷¹*Eidi* is a gift that is usually given to youngsters by elderly relatives and family friends as part of the celebration of two Muslim holidays, Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha. *Eidi* is similar to receiving a gift for a birthday and the most common type of *Eidi* is giving money to youngsters.

around 8,000 partially damaged. In August 2007, relief goods of 23 trucks were dispatched to different areas for flood victims of the NWFP and Baluchistan (see the table 8 in the appendix).

IIRISA Islamabad claims its aid is given on a need basis and it always goes to the most affected regions, additionally, the organisation makes sure that aid is delivered in an impartial way. However, the annual performance report of 2007 contradicts this argument. The report only mentions relief assistance to Baluchistan and the NWFP; it does not discuss assistance to other flood-hit provinces of Pakistan such as Sindh. It seems as if the organisation confined its activities just to Baluchistan and the NWFP and ignored Sindh. The administration of IIRISA Islamabad could not provide any details to these questions.

The Baluchistan Province trembled again in 2008 with a 6.4 magnitude earthquake and more than 300,000 people in six districts of the province were affected (Jones 2009). IIRISA Islamabad supplied over 20 trucks full of relief items comprising of 600 tents, 4000 quilts and 4000 cartons of food packets to the Finance Minister of Baluchistan Mr. Mir Asim Kurd who was representing the Chief Minister of Baluchistan in the distribution of relief goods to deserving people (see the table 9 in the appendix). Conducting emergency relief activities under the supervision of international/national/local authorities is a positive dimension of the aid policy of IIRISA Islamabad. This means of operation confirms the attempt of this organisation to hold itself accountable for its humanitarian activities. Engaging with national/local authorities in the aid delivery process is a strategy of holding a process of accountability. The strategy aims to assure beneficiaries that their expectations are met neutrally and the donors are assured that their provided aid was utilized for its destined purpose. National/local authorities, work as coordinators between the beneficiaries, donors and the organisation who on their part hold themselves accountable for the protection, safety and well-being of populations living in areas over which they preside.

Despite all this process for fair and impartial distribution this accountability strategy is confined to those places where the stuff is distributed under the supervision of government officials. Whereas, the affected provinces where the provision are not delivered for some reason or neglected for unspecified factors raise a question mark about the assistance policies of IIRISA. In order to answer this question, the organisation needs to manage the complete record of its activities.

Recent developments (discussed below) have shown that most arguments about the formation of collective identities and the role of values and social networks in collective action can be integrated into RMT ((McCarthy and Zald 1987). IIROSA Islamabad is an independent organisation in terms of generating funds/ resources and aid distributing quality. However, the organisation backups the humanitarian service of the government and is subject to the laws of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia yet it is an autonomous body. Maintaining its independence and autonomy as an Islamic charity, IIROSA does not accept any kind of aid from individuals of Pakistan, other governments or non-government organisations. It is only in times of emergency when the organisation provides coordinating services. For example, if the government of Saudi Arabia or any other international organisation asks IIROSA to provide a channel in supplying their aid to victims. During the disastrous flood of 2010, which damaged almost all provinces of Pakistan including the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Sindh, Punjab and Baluchistan, where 1/5th of Pakistan's land was flooded and 20 million people were harmed through heavy casualties, destruction of homes, crops, animals, infrastructure and resulting displacement (Pakistan Insider 2011). During these hard times; IIROSA Islamabad agreed to receive 28 trucks of relief goods from King Abdullah's Relief Campaign office for Pakistan and distributed it for free among the flood affectees of Sindh and the KPK Provinces. These relief goods comprised of food items, blankets and tents. About 8000 families were the beneficiaries of these items (see the table 10 in the appendix). Apart from this, in 2011 the Islamic Trust, Japan contacted IIROSA Islamabad wanting them to distribute winter clothes among affected people of the flood in the Sindh Province. IIROSA Islamabad assisted in supplying their goods to affected people (see detail in table 11 in the appendix) (Junaid 2017, pers. comm., 2 March).

8.3.3. Initiatives against Man-made Disasters

The main difference between man-made disasters and natural disasters is the involvement of human intention and action that leads to great human suffering and environmental destruction. Sometimes many natural disasters are also caused by indirect human involvement; human faults or conspiracies, yet man-made disasters are those where people are directly responsible for the occurrence for instance conflicts, war, terrorist attacks.

The guiding principles of humanitarian actions proclaimed by the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs demands that humanitarian agencies are bound to carry out humanitarian assistance with the consent of the affected country, and particularly on the basis of an appeal made by the affected country for assistance. The administration of IIROSA Islamabad claims that the office gets special permission from the government of Pakistan through the Jeddah office to reach the affected areas. The organisation is neither affiliated to any particular political party of Pakistan nor concerned with any particular form of government (civilian or military). The Director General of IIROSA Islamabad argues that it is a nation not a state which is the basic motive of the assistance programme of IIROSA. Following that principle, at the time of crisis the organisation allocates funds on the basis of need in order to relieve human suffering. IIROSA acts as a humanitarian aid agency along with other organisations at times of different humanitarian crisis, the most notable of them is its role in the Kashmiri nation. It is notable that during man-made humanitarian crises; IIROSA Islamabad prefers to confine its activities to helping the migrated IDPs and its work in the refugees' camps. The organisation does not work in battlefields like providing ambulances or taking injured people to hospitals, etc. Arguing this point, the IIROSA Islamabad says, the reason is simple, the organisation avoids direct and indirect participation in hostilities, the organisation does not want to give any advantage to the hostile groups/terrorists that might indirectly benefit from the relief provisions.

Throughout last 15 years (1990-2005), migration has taken place from all points alongside the Line of Control (LOC) at the Kashmir border. As a result, there are many refugee camps in the districts of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) (The Pakistani land of Kashmir). However, the government of Pakistan/ AJK provides assistance to distressed refugees, but in situations when the number of refugees increases and state aid becomes insufficient for the dispossessed families in this situation, Non-government Organisations come forward offering assistance to homeless families. IIROSA Islamabad has also taken the responsibility of supporting expelled families from the Indian controlled Kashmir who live in the camps of AJK (Rahman & Mahmud 2006). In the month of July 2004, IIROSA Islamabad distributed foodstuffs amongst the refugees of occupied Kashmir and displaced persons on the Line of Control (IIRO 2004).

In the aftermath of the 9/11 events, Pakistan joined an international alliance and waged operations against terrorists in various districts of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), these operations caused much human suffering to common people. In the year 2008, the Pakistani military launched an operation against the border crossing of Tehreek-e-Taliban militants in the FATA of Pakistan near Lovesam. In the Khaar area, the military launched aerial bombings on militant positions, which depopulated the Bajour and Mohmand Agencies. Approximately 300,000 people left their homes and became refugees in Peshawar, the majority of families stayed with host families and rest of the displaced families took shelter in refugee camps (Tan 2008).

IIROSA Islamabad continued its efforts to supply relief goods to victims of the earthquake in Baluchistan and at the same time it also supplied goods to displaced persons of the Bajaur Agency. Another consignment of 30 trucks was distributed amongst the displaced persons of the Bajaur Agency of the NWFP. This consignment comprised of 1100 tents, 5000 Quilts and 5000 cartons of foodstuff. A three member delegation came from IIROSA Jeddah headed by Abdullah A-Ghamdi. Distribution took place in the different camps of displaced persons on the 20th November 2008. IIROSA distributed 400 tents, 1400 quilts and 1400 food cartons among the registered IDPs of the Bajaur Agency in Kacha Gari Camp, Peshawar and 335 tents, 335 food cartons and 335 quilts were distributed in the compound of the Directorate of Social Welfare, Peshawar (see the table 12 the appendix) (IIRO 2010).

In 2009-2010 Pakistan witnessed the second biggest large-scale internal displacement crisis after the huge Afghan refugee crisis in 1980s. In spring 2009; the military launched an operation against militants in the Malakand division of the NWFP (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). The operation caused the displacement of 2.3 million people. The military operations bordering Afghan areas also contributed to involuntary displacement and raised the number of internally displaced people to 2.7 million between April-July 2009. Besides, the worst floods in Pakistan in 2010 affected 20 million people and forced 7 million people to leave their homes (Din 2010). IIROSA Islamabad started work to supply relief goods to the victims and displaced persons of Malakand, Swat and Bunair. The organisation dispatched over the 31 trucks of relief items comprising 6010 Water Coolers, 6010 Plastic Mats and 6010 cartons of food packets and 6010 families of the affected districts benefitted (see the table 13 in the appendix) (IIRO 2010).

8.4. Seasonal Projects

Social movement theory explains collective identity as an interactive and analytical tool to explain social movements taken by individuals as well as organisations. Melucci (1995, p.32) argues that “Collective identity is an intermediate process, in which individuals recognize that they share certain orientations in common and on that basis decide to act together”. He further argues collective identity is a cognitive framework which makes up goals, objectives and actions of a movement through activation of linkage among individuals and creates an emotional bond among them.

In case of Transnational Islamic Charities, all Muslims across the world are emotionally attached and need some grounds for collective actions regarding their collective identity. By this reason, the main beneficiaries of Islamic charities are Muslim communities who often expects a spiritual dimension to development work. In order to meet their expectation in their development programme Islamic charities include special projects in consistence with the big festivals of Muslim communities. IIROSA also implements seasonal projects for common people in order to help them celebrate three religious occasions; fasts in the month of *Ramadan*; *Eid al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha*. These seasonal projects (religious festivities) are discussed in the following sections.

8.4.1. Iftar al-Saim Project

During the important seasons and festivals, individuals and groups around the world start a campaign to reduce the plight and stresses of their deprived brethren by sharing with them festival gifts. IIROSA practises this tradition, especially during the religious months and festivals. In Pakistan, IIROSA runs seasonal programmes to share the happiness of the festivals with deprived communities. This programme aims to provide poor and needy people with *Iftar*⁷² food, especially those in the areas hit by natural or man-made disasters as well as those affected by poverty and famine. Admiring the worth of the *Iftar al-Saim* programme, the coordinator of seasonal projects states: “This project of IIROSA is very popular among people. The arrival of

⁷² *Iftar* is one of the religious observances of Ramadan and is often done as a community, with people gathering to break their fast together. *Iftar* is taken just after the call to prayer *Maghrib*, which is around sunset.

the two Islamic holy months, *Ramadan* and *Zil Haj*, and the beginning of the programmes are eagerly awaited every year by the poor and the needy people of Pakistan’.

During normal days, the food is provided to the mosque in particular where many fasting people come for *Iftar*. During times of disaster, when there are several disaster-hit regions and displaced people, food provision is especially distributed in those regions. In this manner, the amount for the *Iftar al-Saim* project and the number of beneficiaries vary yearly in consideration of the location of distribution and the events which take place within the country (see the table 14 in the appendix) (Azim 2017, pers. comm., 6 March). The Data shared by IIROSA Islamabad show that, the organisation is not serious in the matters of keeping complete data of their performance and activities on record. Total budget spent on the project each year and the numbers of beneficiaries, which are the two most important parts of the data, are missing in most of the annual performance reports. According to the Director-General of IIROSA Islamabad annual performance reports are dispatched to the Jeddah office and government authorities responsible for supervising the NGOs. On account of this reality, the question arises why the data are incomplete in reports despite having two supervisory organisations. The data reveals that most of the *Iftar al-Saim* project is assigned to refugees and displaced persons and this is why the food provisions to Azad Kashmir is comparatively higher.

8.4.2. Qurbani Project

Eid days are supposed to be the day of happiness for all the Muslims. *Eid al-Adha* is celebrated in remembrance and reaffirmation of the historic deed of Father and Son, “Prophet Ibrahim and Prophet Ismail”. In the remembrance of that event, *Qurbani*⁷³ is an obligatory *Sunna* for all the well-to-do people who buy goats and cows for *Qurbani*. However, on this blessed day, a large number of poor people who are unable to afford *Qurbani* and wait to provide their children meat are regarded as the most deserving of this *Qurbani* meat. People of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia donate to *Qurbani* projects through such organisations like IIROSA. Therefore, IIROSA is capable of undertaking the responsibility of giving the poor the opportunity to test meat on this day. A bulk of

⁷³Slaughtering the animals usually Goat, lamb, cow, camel on Eid al-Adha to honor the scarification of Prophet Ibrahim and his son Prophet Ismail.

slaughtered meat is distributed all over Pakistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (IIRO 2012).

The Qurbani meat project is implemented in three different categories of geographical location. The first category is of those places/areas where IIROSA projects are being implemented. As workers and beneficiaries of IIROSA are available in those areas of intervention, it is easy to identify the needy and deserving people. For instance, in Mansehra there is Dar Braiem which is an Orphanage of IIROSA, in Peshawar, there is the Badar hospital of IIROSA, and in Larkana, Jehlum, Chitral, Sakhar, Gilgit, Skardu there are working teachers of IIROSA. The organisation selects some workers from these areas for this task, informs them about the number and weight of animals and provides them an amount according to budget. They purchase animals and send the details to the Jeddah office and sacrifice the animals on the day of *Eid al-Adha*. The second is of those areas which are devastated by natural or man-made disasters because people living in such areas are more deserving. The third category includes those areas which make a request to IIROSA Islamabad through the local administration asking for distribution of *Qurbani* meat. The coordinator of *Qurbani* project and workers approach these areas on the day of Eid for distribution of *Qurbani* meat. The beneficiary families of the *Qurbani* project are selected in advance prior to *Eid* day for the smooth distribution process. The family is given a token so that any member of the beneficiary family can come to the place at a fixed time with the token to receive the packet. After scarification IIROSA Islamabad dispatch details to the head office, Jeddah (Moiz 2017, pers. comm., 12 March).

The administration of IIROSA Islamabad argues, “The organisation does not see any difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in this project. If a non-Muslim is needier than a Muslim, the organisation members give him preference over the Muslim”. *Qurbani* meat is considered to be optional *Sadaqah* and the distribution of meat to non-Muslims is not prohibited or discouraged in the *Quran* and *Sunna*. Therefore, the distributors using their own discretion distribute the meat among needy people irrespective of their religious affiliation. IIROSA Islamabad never accepts *Qurbani* animals from local people. So far as the skin of *Qurbani* animals is concerned, it is the property of the organisation. The organisation sells the skins and uses the money to pay expenses such as the fees of a butcher and lunch for the workers/project

team. To represent the distribution ceremony the organisation invites any local leader like a Mayor, Nazim or Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal officer (see the table 15 in the appendix).

8.5. Summary

Helping human beings in times of disaster is a general mission of all secular and faith-based organisations. Human beings suffer tragedies either because of natural calamities like floods, earthquakes or by reason of hostile actions of fellow men including conflicts, wars, and terrorist actions. Both types of catastrophes cause severe damage to human beings. Such devastation needs the proper attention of government and non-government organisations in order to alleviate human suffering. Humanitarian Assistance is a major subject of attention of international organisations.

A number of organisations have designed rules, codes and principles to maintain humanitarian assistance operations in order to alleviate human suffering during the disasters. Generally, they collectively agree that the core humanitarian principles are humanity, neutrality and impartiality. All secular and faith-based organisations have to govern their projects according to these principles in order to be recognized as international humanitarian organisations. IIROSA has recognized that all these principles are compatible with the humanitarian principles of Islam. Consequently, IIROSA has actively participated in various emergency situations that have occurred in Pakistan. Among them, the most significant were the earthquake in 2002 which affected the Northern areas of Pakistan; the earthquake (2005) in the NWFP and AJK; Cyclone Yemini (2007); the earthquake in Baluchistan in 2007; Humanitarian aid to distressed refugees in AJK; Assisting DIPs of the Bajour Agency and the Khyber Agency; Assisting DIPs of Malakand and the NWFP in 2009; Supporting flood victims in Sindh and KPK in 2010; Humanitarian aid for the floods in Sindh and Baluchistan in 2011.

At present, IIROSA is working on two seasonal programmes concerning two religious festivals including *Iftar al-Saim* and *Qurbani* meat. The purpose of the programme is utilizing religious practices for common people and sharing the happiness of the festivals with them. However, the range of these activities is limited to areas where the organisation has been working; they can easily reach deserving people with the help of human resources of the organisation in those regions.

Despite its social and humanitarian activities, questions have always been raised; this includes the lack of transparency in utilization of funds and what efforts have the organisation made in tackling religious radicalization. This research work gave the organisation the opportunity to present its case by showing that its funds are run fairly and its policy stand against religious radicalization. The next chapter describes these two themes.

Chapter 9: IIROSA Islamabad vis-à-vis Religious Radicalization

9.1. Introduction

Since the 9/11 attacks, Islamic Charity Organisations have been accused of mobilizing as radical organisations by western intelligence services and the media and for being associated with and the financial facilitators of well-known terrorist networks like Al-Qaeda (Beranek 2010). The term radicalization is referred to as the process through which an individual or group develops extremist political, social or religious ideologies, aspirations or beliefs. These individuals and groups reject and harm contemporary liberal ideas and freedom of choice. Radicalization can be both violent extremist activity in the form of terrorism or non-violent in the form of being sympathetic and associating with the perpetrators of violence (Borum 2012).

This chapter investigates the stand of IIROSA regarding the allegations of religious radicalization. Furthermore, the chapter narrates the approaches of IIROSA Islamabad regarding its three major programmes including funding and financial system, mosques' construction and *Quran* circles. These three programmes are usually taken as an incentive of radicalization policy of Islamic charities. Thus, the chapter critically assesses and analyses the measures and strategies taken by IIROSA Islamabad to ensure that these religious oriented programmes are free of extremist and radicalization trends.

9.2. Allegations of Religious Radicalization against Islamic Charities

Wilner and Dubouloz (2010, p. 48) suggests that: “Radicalization is a personal process in which individuals adopt extreme political, social, or religious ideas and aspirations, and the attainment of these particular goals justifies the use of indiscriminate violence. It is both a mental and emotional process that prepares and motivates an individual to pursue violent behaviour”.

Transnational Islamic Charities work in many countries and have a wide-ranging web of donors and recipients. Most of the time, the financial arrangement of the Gulf charities was disorganised and the check and balance systems were poor therefore the risk of misuse of funds was higher in the pre-9/11 attacks era. There is another opinion,

most of the Gulf charities belong to authoritarian countries, therefore, and these organisations cannot design their policies to support radical and militant Islam and networks on their own. If charities are involved in any such radical action, which might be the case, it would be to serve the state's interests. In this situation, the state not only sanctions the activities of charitable organisations but, in many instances, also supports and finances them. Thereby, the case seems more inclined to political radicalization than Islamic radicalization. Lapidus (2002, p. 44) narrates aptly:

These allegations against organisations are that they work as religious radical associations who modify the Islamic discourse and act towards making political moves. All Islamic associations including ethnic, missionary, educational or charity basically give a channel to Muslim activism and politicize national and international actions.

Lapidus (2002, p. 52) further argues that a number of *Wahhabi* clerics do support the religiously motivated extremist and militants who play a role in the current Saudi Kingdom yet this predominance of militancy within the *Salafi* community intensified during the Afghan war in 1980s. It verifies the political motivation in the band of *Salafism*.

The Afghan war was supported widely throughout the world materially, financially and morally. Muslim countries mobilized volunteers to participate in the war. The United States, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were the leading supporters of the war. The mosques and madrasahs at the Afghan-Pakistan border were generally used to mobilize and train the volunteer fighters. These volunteers were taught the worth of *Jihad*, proselytization and the strategies to fight against non-Muslims. It was a time when radical ideas were surging on the borderline and none of the three countries paid heed to this new resurgence. All these countries were focused on their vested interests in the war of resistance against a communist state. Saudi Arabia fully funded the warriors, the US and European countries funded Pakistan to aid Afghan freedom fighters without any checks and balances over the given funds. The war ended and the geopolitical situation changed, the “freedom fighters” suddenly became unwanted Islamic radicals and religious fanatics. Many of them found a safe haven in Sudan, whose revolutionary Islamist government welcomed them with open arms (Beranek 2010).

Transfer of unrestricted flows of money and weapons into the hands of warriors backed up some ongoing violent Salafism-inspired movements like Al-Qaeda and a

similar kind of group emerged which a Deobandi group was called the Taliban. Bin Laden and his supporters instigated an anti-US political movement, denounced leading Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Pakistan (Blanchard 2008).

As Saudi Arabia practices the *Salafi* interpretation of Islam, most individuals and employees of Islamic organisations were suspected of having secret materialistic and financial links with Al Qaida and other militant organisations. A secret report by the CIA published in 1996 provided details about the misuse of donations to prominent Islamic charities. The report declared 50 Transnational Islamic charities or its employees had links with terrorist networks. The US Treasury Department designated a large number of Saudi Islamic charities as financial supporters of terrorist networks like Al-Qaeda and the Taliban (Beranek 2010).

Briefly, there have been two allegations against Saudi Arabia subject to radicalization. The first one is against charities as described above. The second allegation accuses the Saudi brand of Islam “Wahhabism” as being responsible for spawning militancy and promoting terrorism throughout the world. In this context, Saudi funded constructions including mosques, *madrasahs* and educational institutes throughout the world are labelled as a major source of missionary work. Some Saudi constructed mosques, *madrasahs* and charities have been alleged to be financial donors of Al-Qaeda. These allegations have raised concerns about Saudi funding to militant groups who mould *Wahhabi* ideology for their political goals and rely on Saudi donations. The US Congress reports that teachings within Saudi domestic schools and mosques foster intolerance to other religions and cultures (Blanchard 2008). The Saudi Government officially denies these allegations. They do not accept that they are exporting cultural or religious extremism demands for educational reform within state educational institutes and Saudi funded schools throughout the world.

After the 9/11 attacks, Saudi Arabia took practical measures to counter the manipulation of funding and religious ideology. For instance, following the UN Security Council Resolution 1267, the Saudi government froze the assets of the Taliban and initiated strict invigilation and reformed the funding and security system of charitable organisations. Following the bomb attacks on Saudi territory on May 12, 2003, Saudi Arabia introduced stricter regulations against the charitable organisations, which were suspected of being involved in activities of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. Apart from introducing legal rules, the mosques were invigilated regarding

funding activities. The government issued a provision to abolish the charitable contribution system within the premises of mosques. Government agencies informed the Saudi government that the money collected at mosques and shops in the name of charity was supplied to different militant organisations. Following the government's verdict, the placement of charitable boxes in mosques and shops was banned. So far, several positive initiatives have been taken to reform the rules of transferring charitable contributions overseas. Despite all these reforms, the generation and use of the funding system is still a matter of concern (Beranek 2010). Still, the overseas aid for religious purposes needs proper invigilation and research. This study helps to ascertain the question about the funding policy of IIROSA Islamabad through a micro analysis of the funding of IIROSA in Islamabad and how much of those funds are spared for religious purposes.

IIROSA Islamabad has categorically denied such allegations by arguing that they have a transparent financial management system, though it is a faith-based organisation and runs some religious programmes such as the construction of mosques, madrasahs, *Quran* Reading Circles, arrangement of *Iftar*, distribution of *Qurbani* meat etc. To explore the association of funding to militants and encouraging radicalisation, it is pertinent to critically assess and understand the financial system and religious programmes operated by IIROSA. The following sections provide an in-depth insight into IIROSA's financial management system and religious-oriented projects.

9.3. The Funding and the Financial Management System of IIROSA Islamabad

The financial management policy formaintaining the accounting and funding procedure is the most significant section of aid organisations. This policy describes the daily accounts system and day-to-day activities of the organisation. It also defines both the internal and external control system carried out by the organisation (Khushi 2017).

IIROSA Jeddah maintains an investigation system to invigilate the usage of donated funds in the receptor countries. The Jeddah office runs the supervisory system with the help of the accounts department of IIROSA in respective countries. To maintain the financial management system, IIROSA Jeddah hires accountants from Saudi accountant firms and instructs the receptor countries to hire accounts staff from local chartered accountant firms for their offices. The local chartered accounts in each

country hold and maintain the accounts of the branch office, the Saudi company counter checks the finance reports. In Pakistan IIROSA Islamabad has hired staff from the Tahir Chartered Accountant Company. A senior finance manager and accountants of the firm are working in the finance department of the Islamabad office. The purpose of the finance department is supervising the expenditures by following-up the implementation of the approved budget. The system's task is to make sure that the organisation's financial and administrative rules and regulations are complied with in letter and spirit (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20 March). Additionally, the accounts department reviews and cross/double checks all the accounts books and ledgers to verify the information. Afterwards, the department examines the closing accounts and prepares an analytical report of its contents, especially pertaining to expenditure, income, credits and trusts. Also, it submits periodical reports concerning the organisation's financial as well as accounting performance. The Jeddah office counter checks the finance department of the Islamabad office through its own Saudi based chartered accountant firm. The auditors of the firm make quarterly visits to the finance department of IIROSA Islamabad for auditing. Although the chartered accountant firms are Pakistani based, the appointment of the staff is approved by the Jeddah office (IIRO 2012).

The funds allocation system of IIROSA is a centralized procedure. The Director-General of the branch offices of IIROSA Islamabad is not authorized to approve or release any payment or initiate any new project without the approval of the Jeddah office. The Director-General can only send a request attached with a proposal and quotations for the initiation of a new project and emergency relief on the eve of a disaster. Once the proposal is accepted the budget is sanctioned by the Jeddah finance department for the implementation of the task (Atique 2017, pers. comm., 23 February).

The total staff of IIROSA Islamabad, which is working on all projects is 250, their salaries are sanctioned by the Jeddah office. The salaries depend upon the educational qualifications of the workers. They pay a fixed lump-sum without allowances. The job positions are static; no promotion and no increments. However, the Jeddah office increases the salaries of staff after five years (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20 March).

Like all other NGOs the budget of IIROSA Islamabad also includes all planned activities. It is a financial framework listing all activities and deliverables as stipulated in the agreement. Each item in the budget indicates the costs which may be incurred for

a specific activity (Keulder & Benz, 2011). The annual budget is confirmed for the three tasks of the organisation include orphanages, health, and staff salaries, whereas, some projects' budgets are not confirmed including the construction of mosques and wells which has no prior budget. In Saudi Arabia, a number of citizens approach IIROSA to donate to the cause of mosque construction. Similarly, IIROSA Islamabad receives requests from local people for the construction of mosques. When IIROSA Jeddah gives the donated amount from Saudi citizens to IIROSA Islamabad for construction of mosques, the Islamabad office compares the amount to the existing requests for construction and utilizes it for the site where it can accomplish the task within the funding range (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20March).

The Islamabad office is authorized to utilize the budget of the project in view of its needs and capacity after the approval from the Jeddah office. For instance, the budget of Dar-Ali orphanage for six months is 150,000 Riyal, how the amount is utilized is under the authority of the Director General. The project coordinator requests that the Director-General releases funds for miscellaneous purposes which are related to the orphanage project (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20March). Such a centralised financial system with centralised checks and balances leaves hardly any room for misuse of funds for militant activities or radicalisation activities.

IIROSA Islamabad has two sources of funding, the first is the IIROSA Jeddah office and the second is its Gulf Medical Centre, Rawalpindi. The source of income of the Jeddah office is not just donations, they have a very systematic source of investment. IIROSA Jeddah invests general donations and purchases lands and buildings for *the Haj* and *Umrah* seasons. These buildings are rented to pilgrims during the *Haj* and *Umrah*. Every department of the organisation including health, social development, education and engineering generates its own funds through investment and general donations. This way the departmentalization of IIROSA is very strong in Saudi Arabia (IIRO 2010). The second source of income generation is the Gulf Medical Center, Rawalpindi. The Gulf Medical Centre supports its own expenditures alongside other projects. Earnings from the Gulf Medical Centre are deposited into the bank account of IIROSA Islamabad on a daily basis. The Islamabad office is not authorized to use the amount without the permission of the Jeddah office. The funds generated by the Gulf Medical Centre are used for the expenditures of the centre itself and for the

salaries of the 55 staff members of IIROSA in Pakistan (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20 March).

IIROSA Jeddah directly funds big projects exceeding 100 million rupees; however, for small running expenses worth 2-5 lakh, they allow the drawing of these amounts from the Gulf account. Nevertheless, as the earnings of the Gulf Medical Centre is used just for two tasks; for bearing the expenditures of the Gulf Medical Centre itself and for the salary of staff (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20March).

The Badar Hospital is neither income generating nor a dependent project, it is a self-sufficient project and is responsible for whatever it earns and utilizes in meeting with its own expenses. Thus, it is a charity project, which is being run on no-loss no-profit basis. There is no fixed budget for health projects, because the number of patients, expenses on drugs and medical equipment are not static. The Jeddah office checks all the expenditure bills of the health department at the end of the month and approves it as the health budget (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20March).

It is observed that there is no liability on IIROSA Islamabad because it is practising a cash-based accounting system instead of accrual-based system. Generally, two types of accounting are practised in organisations, one is accrual based and the second is cash based. The accrual-based accounting expenses are matched with the related revenues and are reported when the expense occurs, not when the cash is paid. Supposing bills are to be paid and staff salaries are to be disbursed, all these expenses are recorded under the accrual-based accounting system. IIROSA Islamabad is unable to practice this type of accounting because all these expenses are to be paid by the Jeddah, office so if the Islamabad office records this liability in the company's balance sheet and pays the bills, salaries or scholarships in advance and the Jeddah office does not pay the expenses for some reasons then the organisation will go into loss, therefore, as the Islamabad, office has no authority on payments, it is practising a cash-based accounting system. Under the cash-based accounting system, the expenses registered at the time of actual payment (Cohen & Zarowin 2010). The Islamabad office records the expenses when it receives it from the head office in Jeddah, thereby, there is no liability on IIROSA Islamabad. The head office sends funds for six months and then the Islamabad office has to manage and balance the amount, it is their responsibility to manage the approved amount (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20March).

Every organisation uses some amounts as petty-cash (Miscellaneous) for meeting the daily expenses of the offices. For this purpose, IIROSA Islamabad has fixed 3% of the total amount of each project for project-related miscellaneous expenditure. The petty cash budget is used for the mobility, courier, photocopies, forms and all such minor works. Depending on the type of activities, cash payments sometimes cannot be avoided. In this case, a petty cash structure must be put in place. One person only (supervised by, for example, the financial controller) should have control over the cash funds and responsibility for the reconciliation of the petty cash vouchers and the remaining cash funds. If the financial controller is in charge of the petty cash, another person is designated to supervise the petty cash operation at intervals (Keulder & Benz 2011, pp. 10-11).

IIROSA has hired one accountant for every project. He is responsible for observing, assessing and recording all the project related expenses. The accountant verifies the quotations and sends it to the Director-General, the DG consults the financial manager to check the budget and make the payment. Basically, a three-person committee is involved in the whole payment process; Project coordinator, Manager through his accountants and Director General. This committee works for all projects' payments.

Maintaining the budget of Jamia Asriyya is not responsibility of IIROSA Islamabad because all expenditures of the Jamia Asriyya project and the salary of the teachers is directly paid from the Jeddah office. Similarly, 32 teachers, who are working under the *Halqatul Quran* project, are not permanent employees of IIROSA; their salaries are also sent directly from IIROSA biannually (Baseer 2017, pers. comm., 20 March).

9.4. Construction of Mosques Project

Mosques bear a very important place in Muslim society. In the initial Islamic era, the *Masjid* (Mosque) had multiple purposes and a comprehensive position in the lives of Muslims. It was not only a place of worship, but an academy, political and social centre of the community. The mosque, *Masjid e Nabawi*, built by the Prophet Muhammad himself in Medina had served several purposes. The mosque served as a place of worship and the centre of learning where Muslims assembled to offer prayers and where the Prophet educated his disciples in Islamic concepts as well as shared revelations. The mosque also worked as a community centre where the Prophet taught his followers how

to deal with social issues and discussed internal and external political activities and held courts for decisions making. There, the Prophet used to convey rules to his followers in the light of revelations. In this manner, *Masjid e Nabawi* played a key role in educating Muslims and preaching Islam (Weston 2008, p. 36).

Islam signifies education as an integral part of belief as the *Quran* urges the faithful to acquire knowledge from birth to death and undergo all suffering in seeking knowledge. In this connection, they needed a place of education. As mosques were the juncture of gathering and voluntarily available for the cause of Islam, they played the main role for educational purposes. In Medina, there were 9 such mosques including the Mosque of the Prophet where education was imparted. There were 20 other mosques in other parts of Saudi Arabia which were used at that time for educational purposes (Khan 1981).

In the following years, wherever in the world, Islam reached, mosques were established and they performed mainly both the roles as a place of worship and education centre. In some cases, the number of mosques and students reached thousands, and they were adjoined to libraries. As Islam reached into the non-Arab world, the need to learn the *Quran*, the Arabic language and the concepts of Islam encouraged the idea of making mosques a language and cultural centre. These mosques introduced the basis of Islamic theology and scholars like al-Hasan-al-Basri who introduced the subject of Kalam (Ilm al-Kalam) in the mosque in Basrah. Until the ninth Hijricentury, it had been a practice in the Muslim countries to open an elementary school in mosques both for boys and girls. Arabic, the *Quran* and Arithmetic were the basic subjects of the mosque schools. Besides, for advanced education, in the larger mosques, there were offered the subjects of Arabic grammar, logic, poetry, theology, law and history. In this connection, the Cordova Mosque of Spain is a popular example (Zaimeche 2002).

The advanced format of a mosque school was called *Halaqat-al-Ilm* or briefly *Halaqa*, which means ‘a gathering of people seated in a circle’. In these *Halaqat* along with lectures by the duty teachers, some special lectures were organised by visiting scholars (Islam 1971). The advanced structure of mosques turned into a full-grown profession and introduced university-level education. The well-known examples of such mosque-based universities are Al-Qayrawwan, Tunisia and Al-Zaytuna, Tunisia, Al-

Azhar, Egypt and Al-Qarawiyyin, Morocco. These Universities established a scholarship in the form of students and teachers⁷⁴ (Dodge 1962).

In the 20th century, many mosques were used for political objectives during the anti-colonial movements. Such kinds of activities were witnessed in the sub-continent of India, and then the trend moved to Bangladesh, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran where political topics are discussed and preached by the *Imam* during Friday sermons and on special Islamic days (Spiegel 2006). In the twentieth century, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, under the leadership of King Faisal, started a tradition for funding the construction of mosques around the world. Saudi Arabia's role in the construction of Sunni mosques in the world can be traced back to the 1960s. By the 1980s Saudi Arabia started financing Islamic schools called *madrasahs* together with the construction of mosques.

9.4.1. The Idea of Mosque Schools in Pakistan

In Pakistan, the idea of mosque schools materialized in 1953 and the idea were implemented in the former state of Bahawalpur (Khan 1981). The idea aimed at providing basic education to the children of remote rural areas in Pakistan where regular primary schools were not running. These mosque schools were government-sanctioned schools. Initially, there was no formal curriculum. The *Quran*, knowledge about Islam and the Arabic language (reading and writing) were the main focus of education. The instructor was a local *imam* who was paid an honorarium by the community. Later on, the idea was improved and it was decided that schools would be provided with a trained teacher along with an *Imam* of the mosque; both would be responsible for teaching children (Reza, 2016, p. 52). This education system was generally known as the *maktab*⁷⁵ Policy.

Until 1967-68 this *maktab* scheme had been extended to other regions of West Pakistan. In 1978, when the New Education Policy was enforced in Pakistan, it

⁷⁴The most eminent scholars of these universities are Ibn Rushd, Ibn- Bajja, Ibn-al-Sayigh. The notable scholars of Qarawiyyin (who studied as well as taught there) are Ibn-Khatib, Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Harazim, al-Bitruji, Ibn Wazzan. Al-Baghdadi and Ibn Haytham were scholars of Al-Azhar University (Dodge 1962).

⁷⁵Maktab is an Arabic word used for elementary school. Until the twentieth century *maktab* was the most prominent center of education in the Islamic world where students were taught both religious and formal education.

suggested that mosque schools needed improvement. Under certain recommendations, two teachers were appointed in every mosque school and 5,000 new mosque schools were opened in various remote areas of Pakistan. These schools were primary level *maktab* and they had to teach the same curriculum as taught in the formal schools. The *imam* of the mosque was responsible for teaching the *Quran* and Arabic and one Primary Trained Teacher (PTC) was responsible for teaching the rest of the curriculum. Subsequently, the number of teachers was extended to two (Khan 1981). The purpose of the government was to encourage this project of mosque schools and to reduce the stress on public development and non-development costs. But this idea of mosque schools is not very successful as the students of mosque schools were recorded to be poorly prepared in reading, writing and arithmetic. There were also complains that in these mosque schools, children were getting *jihadi* and warrior spirits. Since the last decade, the government of Punjab, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, have been shutting down the mosque schools because of the poor quality of education and the fear of radicalization in educational institutes (Zahooruddin 2017, pers. comm., 1March).

9.4.2. Mosque Constructions of IIROSA in Pakistan

It is discussed above that social movement theories outline the role of interaction in the identity construction process. They emphasise that in order to maintain their identity, individuals need to interact and resort to collective behaviours and carry on social movement activities. Mosques/places of worship play a role for same faith people to preserve their identity structure and interact in important ways for the sustenance of their faith-based activities (Drury 2015).

When the International Islamic Relief Organisation started its role abroad, it helped the Saudi government to implement mosques construction projects in various Muslim countries under its Project Serving Islam, which mean to help Muslims to protect their identity. The realities discussed above regarding the role of mosques as primary to advanced level study centres and their role as social and political centres in the Muslims world raised some questions regarding IIROSA's project in the construction of mosques in all countries generally, and in Pakistan in particular. Another reason why this project draws more attention and concern is the existence of mosque schools in Pakistan in the past and present.

This whole story about the role of mosques provided an incentive to investigate the role of the mosques project of IIROSA in Pakistan. There, several questions were raised including what is the purpose of this project? How does IIROSA approach the remote areas in Pakistan for mosque construction purposes? What are its sources of information? What are the activities of the mosque constructed by IIROSA, in Pakistan? What is the post construction role of IIROSA in these mosques? In order to authenticate the data and detail given by the IIROSA Islamabad, visits to some mosques was arranged for this research. Interviews were held with the *Pesh-Imam*, *Qari*⁷⁶ as well as committee members of the mosques. IIROSA has constructed several mosques in the remote areas of Pakistan, Azad Jammu & Kashmir. Because of time, funding and accessibility constraints, only five mosques were selected, two in Islamabad and three in the remote villages of province of Sindh including Tharparkar and Badin districts. The purpose of selecting these mosques in completely two different regions was to compare the roles of these mosques. This research intended to find the similarities and contrasts in the role and regulations of mosque projects working in a big city like Islamabad and the remote poor villages of Sindh.

The implementation of such projects normally undergoes a lengthy process. IIROSA Islamabad provides all the basic facilities for the construction of the mosques except land. The construction of the mosque takes place following an application by local people who approach IIROSA Islamabad and request the construction of a mosque. The organisation maintains some terms and conditions for the construction of mosques. The first condition is receiving an application for the construction from the local people of the region. The office demands the list of five committee member names with signatures in order to make sure that a committee is undertaking the responsibility to oversee and manage the construction work and its function in future. The additional required documents contain a letter of authority from the property enterpriser verifying the surrender of property as *waqf*, no objection certificate from the District Council, agreement papers and assurance from the local communities that this facility would not be used for anti-state or anti-government activities under any circumstances, are also required. The purpose of this comprehensive procedure aims to prohibit misuse of these constructions for the purpose of militancy and radicalisation

⁷⁶*Qari* is an Arabic word used for a person who recites the Quran consistently with the rules of recitation.

and to set IIROSA free from post-construction activities of the mosque (Muneeb 2017, pers. comm., 2March).

The administration of IIROSA Islamabad claims that the organisation also seeks the assurances from local people that the mosque would not be used for promoting any sectarian affiliation and it would be used for the sole purpose of worship and facilitation of socio-cultural activities of the local population. This point is not true in the matter of all mosques because, during the visit to one mosque in the village of Mithi, district Tharparkar, it was revealed that the local people were ignorant of the name of the donor. They just knew the person who was working as a contractor further, they were not interested in the question of who was the donor and why did he donate for the mosque, even the committee members of the mosque were ignorant of basic information about the donor. If the people were ignorant of the name of the donor and the amount consumed in the construction of a mosque, how could they know the terms and conditions of IIROSA Islamabad?

Despite this, the local people were self-committed and self-determined not to use the mosque for any hate speech or controversial issues. The mosque project started in 2010 and 2011 in Badin and Tharparkar districts of Sindh. There are 5 mosques in the different villages of Tharparkar. IIROSA Islamabad pays the cash amount in instalments at the beginning of the project, when the work reaches its mid-point, they ask for pictures and then the remaining amount is paid after the construction of building, the amount fixed for construction of a mosque in rural areas is -Rs- 700,000-1,000,000/(Baladi 2017, pers. comm., 1March).

Discussing the conditions of IIROSA regarding construction of mosques, the committee members of one mosque in district Badin, who are also owners of the mosque land, stated that IIROSA Islamabad only suggests holding *Quran* classes in their constructed mosque. That is a usually a common practice in all mosques as it is a facility for parents and their children. Further, IIROSA Islamabad neither ask to run any school in the mosque, nor do they provide an *Imam* or *Qari* nor the mosque is used for proselytization purpose to force the Hindu minority to convert to Islam. Once they finish construction, they do not supervise or renovate the mosque. This mosque is a *Hanafi* mosque because the enterpriser of the *waqf* belongs to *Jamaat-e-Islami*, despite this, they claim that they do not discuss or impose sects inside the mosque.

The committee members of one mosque in Mithi, Tharparkar discussed with me the whole story of the mosque construction in the village. The members told me that ‘there was no place for prayer and people used to pray in their homes. They were subsequently informed by the most active man of Tharparkar, who works with NGOs, that he could help them construct a mosque, they requested him and the landlord did *waqf* on his plot for a mosque ... after some time, this kind man (contractor) provided them construction materials, and labourers and started constructing the building’. The villagers do not know who donated the amount and how much was donated. They were just happy at having a mosque building. Then the committee members appointed an *Imam* and *Qari* who were given salaries by the villagers.

Discussing the matter of sectarian involvement in the mosque, the Committee members of another mosque in the same city (Mithi) who belong to a *Hanafi* version of Islam stated they practice the *Hanafi* trend of prayer, this was not suggested to them by IIROSA Islamabad. The organisation just provided materials and labourers for the construction through their contractor. Initially, a team from the organisation visited the mosque thereafter; the organisation never visited or renovated the mosque.

Saudi Arabia is alleged to be promoting the fundamentalist *Salafi* brand of Islam through investing heavily in the construction of mosques, cultural centres, schools and madrasahs. It is also alleged that they (Saudi Arabia) invest in construction of mosques for their own sect as a way of opposing the *Shiite* sect of Islam. Discussing this matter the Pesh *Imam* of one mosque in Islamabad said that there was no mosque in their sector neither from *Shiite* sect nor the Sunni sect. They needed the mosque for 200-300 people in this sector. As people of the sector belong to class four (working class), they could not afford to offer land for the mosque and construction. Therefore, the residents of the sector got approval for the land for the mosque from the Capital Development Authority (CDA) and started construction with the help of *Chanda* (Aid from common people). Meanwhile, they applied to IIROSA Islamabad for aid to finish the construction of the building with ample amounts. As learning the *Quran* is essential for all the Muslims, the committee decided to hire a *Qari* for the mosque who would teach the *Quran Nazira and Hifaz* to children and elders. Besides, sometimes the committee would invite a scholar on any of the special Islamic days to lecture. As the committee members belong to the *Ahal-E-Sunna-wa-Jamat, Hanafi* Group, they would invite the scholars of *Hanafi* Islam.

This discussion verified the point stated by IIROSA Islamabad regarding mosque project that the Saudi Royal family, as well as its citizens, contribute significantly to two schemes; the first is orphan undertaking and the second is the construction of mosques. They consider these two ventures as part of their faith. As there is a considerable number of mosques in Saudi Arabia, this trend of building mosques is extended to other parts of the world where amounts are utilized only for this goal. The master piece of mosques, is proof of the largest investment by the Saudi Royal family on a mosque project in Pakistan, is the Faisal Mosque, Islamabad.

9.4.3. *Quran* Circles Project

Quran Circles are gathering places where members can come together and study the *Quran*, whether it is, memorizing, perfecting *Tajweed*, or just listening and reading. The content of the gathering is set by the chairs conducting the session. IIROSA Islamabad has thirty-two *Quran* circles in different cities of the country. The purpose of these *Quran* circles is *Nazira Quran*, Memorization of the *Quran* and organising competitions regarding knowledge about the *Quran*. The members of the *Quran* circles (for *Nazira* and memorization purposes) are registered students of those schools and mosques who want to conduct *Quran* studies in the institutions and approach IIROSA for this purpose. The structure of the circle, appointment and responsibilities of the teachers are discussed in the education project. Teachers of the *Quran* circles stress *Tajweed* (accent and character of words) so that students could learn to read the *Quran* with an Arabic accent. For girls, there are only three *Quran* circles where female teachers teach them reading and memorizing the *Quran* (Yonus 2017, pers. comm., 3March).

Regarding knowledge about the *Quran* sessions IIROSA Islamabad organises *Quran* competitions under the supervision of the *Quran* Circle project every year. The competition is held in four categories. The first category of competition takes place for students at 10 years of age, it is just confined to memorization of the *Quran*, and only a student's memory is checked. The second category of competition is for the students at 15 years of age. Under this competition, a teacher opens a page of the *Quran* and asks a student the name of a *surah* in that *Quran*, and then he is asked to start reading the *Quran* from that page and tell the first and the last verse of the *Surah*. The third category of competition is for the students at 17 years of age. This is a competition of

Qirat for *Tajveed*, and the fourth category for 18-25 years of age is about the *Quran* and *Tafseer* and the fourth category is for above 25 years where the participant memorizes a *Hadith* book (Yonus 2017, pers. comm., 3March).

These competitions are advertised properly by IIROSA Islamabad. Then people from different parts of the country participate in these competitions. There are some prizes for winners. Initially, the winners are awarded a cash amount, CDs of the *Quran* and an *Umrah* ticket. The Project coordinator accompanies the winners to the *Umrah*. For girls, their father is permitted to accompany them. These competitions are organised under the supervision of the government and the President of Pakistan, Prime Minister and Ministers of Religious Affairs are especially invited (Yonus 2017, pers. comm., 3March).

9.5. Summary

After the 9/11 attacks several Transnational Islamic charities were alleged to be financial sources of terrorist networks especially Al-Qaeda. Many charities were shut down and the remaining ones opened their accounts to investigation, redesigned and reformed their work. The Saudi charities were the main target of accusations for they were supported by the government in spreading the *Wahhabi* sect of Islam throughout the world with the help of mosques, madrasahs and Islamic cultural centres. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Saudi Arabia helped the world community in the regularization and reformation of the Charities' functions and role.

Being an Islamic charity, IIROSA Jeddah undertakes the responsibility of serving religion along with humanity. In this respect, IIROSA Jeddah donates to the construction of mosques and *Quran* circles, especially in Muslim countries. Pakistan has been a hub of Saudi madrasahs and mosques and utilizes mosques for educational and political purposes. Therefore, this research investigated the role of mosques and *Quran* circles constructed by IIROSA in Pakistan. This research included visits to five mosques, as samples in Islamabad and the remote regions of the Sindh Province. The research concluded that IIROSA Islamabad constructs mosques in different areas of Pakistan at the request of local people under set terms and conditions. The organisation only pays limited construction expenditures. The construction only contains a place of worship, no madrasah or *Maktab* are part of the construction. The appointment of the *Pesh-Imam* and *Qari* is not the responsibility of the organisation, this is a matter for

local people. Once the construction is accomplished, IIROSA Islamabad is no more responsible for the renovation work or investigating the usage of the construction.

The *Quran* circles are not constructions of IIROSA. *Quran* circles are held in the schools and madrasahs in remote areas of Pakistan. The teachers of these circles are appointed by IIROSA Jeddah with the collaboration of the Islamabad office. The teaching staff is generally known as preachers. The task of these circles is to only teach *Nazira* and memorization of the *Quran*, holding *Naat*⁷⁷ competitions and Islamic knowledge competitions.

⁷⁷Poetry in the praise of the Islamic prophet Muhammad

Conclusion

This thesis aims at exploring the role of Islamic social institutes of aid generally known as Transnational Islamic Charities in the development context. The aim of this thesis was to explore and examine the contributions and role of the International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia (IIROSA) in Pakistan, in particular, focusing on poor and deprived communities and for common people in general. It explored the mission activities of IIROSA in Pakistan in the field of Social Development, Humanitarian Assistance and Serving Islamic Identity. This study investigated, through empirical research, the main social development projects of the organisation in different regions of Pakistan and its benefits to destitute communities and common people. It also identified the relief activities of the organisation at times of emergency and seasonal circumstances in Pakistan and Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK). The study explored how IIROSA justifies its stand against religious radicalization, how it runs religious programmes, and how it defends and validates its religious programmes in Pakistan. It also explained the funding resources and financial management control system of the organisation in Pakistan and the measures it takes to keep the control system fair and transparent.

This last chapter of the thesis aims primarily: to sum up the theoretical and empirical findings of the research as well as theoretical and empirical implications; to draw together the findings of the three ‘analyses’ chapters (Nos.7, 8 and 9) based on the main research questions, and to /highlight the major contributions of this thesis. This chapter further highlights the major contributions of the thesis in the field of social science.

This study engages with the comprehensive sociological discussion encompassing the status, role, and contributions of IIROSA. The discussion is largely rooted in the discourse of the sociology of Islam and development studies. Particularly, in the context of South Asia, such debates have drawn the attention of sociologists, whereas, researchers in Islamic studies still avoid debating and working on the themes related to the sociology of Islam. Sociologists have got involved in this research field (sociology of Islam), because South Asia has endured the consequences of religious radicalization, extremism and terrorism.

Additionally, sociologists have witnessed the impact of post 9/11 war on terror chiefly in South Asia and largely on Islamic states. Due to the changing international scenario and the increasing concerns regarding Islamic institutions, it is necessary to explore the sociological affairs of Islam through macro and micro sociological analysis. In order to understand how Islamic charities function as aid organisations engaging in social development activities and humanitarian affairs, it is necessary to explore the nexus between religion and development. For a long time, in the field of social science, religion was considered a weak analytical performer having no strong role to play in the welfare of people because of its controversial and circumstantial nature.

The dominance of modernism in sociology also lost the importance of religion in social science. With time, changes occurred in the field of social science and some social scientists initiated analysing the social merits of religion. Among these scientists Emile Durkheim and Max Weber studied the phenomenon of religion and founded the principle architecture of modern social science (Salehin, 2011). These two scholars proposed that religion was a significant component of social reality which merited attention and proper practices for social wellbeing. This research study also relates to a case where religion plays the role in an institutionalized form of development engagement and practises social welfare affairs (Borchgrevin & Erdal 2017).

Furthermore, this research contends the secular arguments that dismiss the social and development aspects of religion. It explains the social engagement of religion in the modern world and claims that there is value of religion for large segments of the world's population who still practice religion in their everyday life in order to deal with the matters of life and death (Deneulin & Rakodi 2011). Additionally, it elucidates that religion is gaining importance for academic, policy makers, and researchers in the field of development studies. They have realized that integrating religion in the field of development work can utilize faith for the enormous social welfare tasks (Kadt 2009).

The inclusion of faith-based organisations in development work has renewed a discourse in development studies and become central in the field of social development. Initially, the discourse on the nexus between religion and social development was criticised for being excessively limited in the understanding of development. The concept of development was narrowly limited to planned economic activities of organisations and development agencies. Similarly, religion was taken in a much narrower sense only confined to the spiritual belief system and fixed rituals. In recent

years, especially after the fall of dominant development agendas led by modernization and neo-liberalism, some of the world's largest financial and aid institutions and academic actors have started to take seriously this utilization of people's faith aspect for human development purposes. The concept of religion as well as development is broadened with the aim of creating a positive society. Now development work includes not only mainstream development activities such as the preoccupation of economic growth, but people-centred development like human development and humanitarian assistance programmes are also part of mainstream development (Pieterse 2002).

Ebaugh (2002) refers to "development" in the twentieth century from four theoretical perspectives which have brought religion back into the social science discourse. These four theories are Social Movements, Civic Nature, Globalization and Rational Choice Theory. Regarding Islamic charities of the Middle East, Social Movement Theory is the cause of the religion and development nexus.

In chapter three various approaches of social movement theory were discussed among them three main approaches Structural strain, Resource mobilization and Political process. They have been crucial in building the perspectives of Islamic Charities. Islamic organisations including IIROSA are observed as offering a reaffirmation of traditional beliefs against frustrations, deprivations, and variety of social, cultural and political strains brought on by rapid modernization, Westernization as a threat to Islamic identity. Finally, several scholars understand political Islam through the concept of relative deprivation (Gurr 1970). This model is the explicit starting point of Islamic institutionalization/organisations/charities. Therefore, there is no doubt that the Transnational Islamic charities in the Middle East are formed as a result of these socio-political process or activism (Salehin 2011).

Revival of Pan-Islamism in the twentieth century occurred after the failure of Pan-Arabism activated religious, political and social movements which represented the social aspect of Islam. Islamist movements contributed to social welfare primarily by directing provision of human services like healthcare, education, social protection and community development. These movements tended to foster social competition wherein governments were forced to implement social policies in favour of the poor and expanded Islamic social welfare association/institutions/organisations.

Discussing an amalgamation between aid and Islam this thesis corroborates that the concept of Islamic philanthropy is derived from *Quran* and *Hadith* as charity is central to the Islam and Muslims are strictly instructed to practice charitable work. The mechanism of almsgiving described in *Quran* includes three forms; obligatory almsgiving called *zakat* and non-obligatory almsgiving called *sadaqah* and *waqf* (religious endowment). All these almsgiving mechanisms are adopted as funds generating resources by Transnational Islamic Charities. Islamic charities are more active in Muslim countries and attempt to enhance the material and moral maintenance of the Muslim *Ummah* through humanitarian aid by following the basic principles of Islam. Because of this specific affiliation with Muslim communities and countries, they have faced several allegations of radicalization in the religious and political contexts.

Corroborating with the findings of Benthall (2002) and Cordier (2009) this thesis argues that these charity organisations were hardly ever recognised as development organisations in the pre-9/11 era because of their religious orientation and the fundamental differences with modern and secular/liberal standards of mainstream development organisations, additionally, there were some major weaknesses in the monitoring system of Islamic charities. In the post 9/11 era, Transnational Islamic Charities focused on improving their philosophy, rules and regulations. In this connection they started to struggle in adopting the principles of mainstream development aid centring on notions of humanity, neutrality and impartiality in their humanitarian assistance programs in order to achieve world-wide recognition and authentication as international/Transnational Aid/Development Organisations.

This thesis presents empirical analysis of the activities of Transnational Islamic Charities. International Islamic Relief Organisation of Saudi Arabia was used as a particular case to analyse its social development and humanitarian assistance role in Pakistan. As discussed in Chapter 5, IIROSA Islamabad runs eight different projects within three categories including Social Development, Humanitarian Assistance and Religious Services. Exploring the Social Development contributions of IIROSA in Pakistan, this study concludes that the orphan houses, Dar Ali bin Abi Talib and Dar Braiem, run under the management of IIROSA are primarily focusing on creating a sense of self-esteem and self-reliance and self-actualization amongst students rather than just providing them with basic facilities like food, clothing and shelter. It was observed that these orphanage centres were imparting quality education and providing

life skills to these parentless students. The majority of students who join these orphanages stay there for ten years. Throughout that time, they developed psychologically, physically and educationally.

The most significant point noted that despite being funded by IIROSA Jeddah, all these centres are registered with federal and provincial education boards. This independent education system justifies the claims of IIROSA as being a neutral organisation in terms of education and negates the allegations of proliferating Saudi education system. These schools offer enrolment only in a general science group, so students who are not interested in this subject and have an aptitude for the social science/humanity group they are compelled to join the former study group. In consideration of students' interest and rights, IIROSA's administration needs to impart education in the arts and humanities groups as well.

Furthermore, IIROSA has Alumni, so that ex-students are able to play their role in motivating and guiding other orphans towards education and self-employment. A considerable number of students from these two educational centres moved into higher education and served in reputable institutes such as civil aviation and the Pakistani Army. All this is solid evidence of the quality education provided by IIROSA's orphanage centres. At large, the empirical study reveals that as a contributor to social development with the help of Dar Ali bin Abi Talib and Dar Braiem, IIROSA is working positively to make parentless children valuable citizens and playing a significant role in their social growth.

In addition, under the orphans' programmes, IIROSA Islamabad also funds orphans of five orphanages in Pakistan. When visiting these affiliated centres and having discussions with staff and beneficiaries, it was observed that these organisations were dissatisfied with the policy of releasing money and the mode of payments to orphans. Frequent irregularities in payment and hectic procedural formalities were noticed, for example, IIROSA used to pay funding directly to the orphans through a cash system, but since 2016 these payments have been made using a cheque system. IIROSA does not fund administration of these affiliated orphanages; therefore, they are not having any direct advantage through this programme. Additionally, looking over the authenticity of the affiliated orphanages, the research found that they are all government registered reputable institutions rewarded by the government of Pakistan for their social services.

Counter evaluation of the statements of the affiliated organisations with IIROSA Islamabad discovered that IIROSA changed funding policy to the orphans of the affiliated organisations for two reasons; first in order to secure funds for orphans through a cheque policy so that the funding should be utilized by the orphans and their families not by the institutes. The second reason is that the Saudi Arabian government has stiffened its policies so that its branch offices have to consume funds in a fair manner and under strict observation. Such a change of policy might be a step forward in the abolition of coordination with affiliated organisations. In view of this whole scenario, this research proposes, that because of the loss of trust and lack of faith between IIROSA and its affiliated orphanages, IIROSA Islamabad should cease its coordination with other orphanages of Pakistan and try to build its own orphanages for its project. The beneficiaries of the home-based orphans programme also think that IIROSA Jeddah should regularize their funding with IIROSA Islamabad to ensure the proper care of its students.

The empirical research found the most important and noticeable point in terms of ‘gender inequality’ in the education programmes of IIROSA. As discussed above, IIROSA Islamabad plays a vital role in providing education to orphans through its two schools Dar Ali bin Abi Talib and Dar Braiem. These centres have focused only on education for boys and the education for girls, which is a priority of Sustainable Development Goals, it does not have enough space and support in the education project of IIROSA Islamabad. The higher education programmes for girls being supported by IIROSA Islamabad are incompatible with the social welfare programme. For instance, funding the higher education system of Jamia Asriyya does not fall into the category of a social development programme, it rather comes into the category of a religious service programme as the Jamia is related to the study of theology of Islam. IIROSA Islamabad does not provide any infra-structure and base for the higher education of girls where they could learn a range of subjects including natural science, the social sciences and technical science.

The thesis verifies the argument by the IIROSA administration regarding supporting primary and secondary education of girls at Jamia Asriyya and funding a limited number of orphan girls through a house-based orphan programme and with affiliated orphanages. With all this funding, IIROSA is obliged to take more solid initiatives regarding the education of girls. This is because it is a partner of UNICEF

and other specialised agencies of the UNO. Its obligations include launching primary and higher secondary girls' schools in developing countries like Pakistan and supporting the Sustainable Development Goals of the UNO. In addition, the organisation finances higher studies through a foreign funding programme irrespective of gender, but this programme has not achieved its glorious target. The funding and number of scholarships for this programme is declining every year. To achieve a successful social welfare programme, IIROSA Islamabad should contribute greater amounts of money to this project as it will help to enhance its social and international reputation.

The study confirms the contribution of IIROSA Islamabad for women's empowerment as it appoints female doctors, teachers, nurses and technical staff in hospitals, schools and Jamia Asriyya (girls' wing). It argues that concerning women's empowerment, IIROSA believes in traditional Muslim culture and values. Accordingly, gender segregation and gender-based division of labour is essential in the work place of a Muslim society (Khatwani 2016, pp. 33-34). The organisation does not appoint female staff in its main branch office in Islamabad as they do not consider office work (project management /coordination) and the related outside activities concerning implementation of projects in the remote areas appropriate for female staff.

Health care is one of the major contributions of IIROSA Islamabad. The Badar Hospital and the Al-Khair Hospital are two charity hospitals. It was concluded that beneficiaries of these charity hospitals were highly satisfied with the services which were provided at a reasonable cost. Patients recognize the hospitals save them from heavy expenses and works as an alternative to an expensive health service in private as well as government hospitals.

International aid organisations keep the track record of their activities and achievements preserved, however, that is not in case of IIROSA Islamabad. This organisation did not keep a complete record of its humanitarian assistance activities before the era of 9/11. Furthermore, there is no archive or website to track the annual performance of the organisation. This thesis proposes that since it is an international relief organisation, the Head in Jeddah is responsible for transparency and should insist that all branch offices publish their annual activities; this data can be then easily accessed by interested individuals. Exploring the positive aspect of the humanitarian assistance programme, this thesis finds involvement of the government of Pakistan in emergency relief activities. The reasons being it maintains the impartiality and

transparency of humanitarian work. Such a trend makes the distribution system transparent and evident to the government and secretive agencies of Pakistan.

The more controversial opinions about the aid provision of IIROSA are that it uses a substantial part of its budget on *Da'wah* activities for religious radicalization. This thesis argues that IIROSA is not an advocate of *Da'wah*. However, there are number of reasons which justify the engagement of this organisation in Islamic activities. Being an Islamic relief organisation, IIROSA and other Islamic aid organisations play a role in preserving Muslim religious culture and Muslim identity. In this context, they help people to strengthen their Islamic morals and spirituality. Constructions of mosques and *Quran* circles are the tangible and detectible examples in this context. The main argument is this, the organisation humbly responds to demands of the local public who contact IIROSA for support in building mosques in their villages. Another argument focuses on donors. Those who donate funds to IIROSA in Saudi Arabia want it spent on mosques, and the organisation has to comply with their wishes and in so doing its religious principles.

Finally, the most significant argument is that there is a distinction between activities aimed at conversion and activities focusing on preserving Islamic culture and Muslim identity. IIROSA is playing a role in upholding religious identity; it does not attempt to curtail Christian and Hindu institutions. For example, following the request of people, the organisation has built Mosques in the Tharparkar, the Hindu dominated district of Pakistan. These mosques have never indulged in the *Da'wah* work, their role is confined to prayer and teaching the *Quran* to Muslim children.

Overall, this thesis presents two arguments. First, IIROSA presents a sacralised form of administrative setup. A number of aspects affirm this argument like its board and general assembly which consists of Muslim dignitaries and regular staff who are practising Muslims, most of the income of the organisation is collected through an Islamic mechanism of *zakat*, *sadaqah* and *waqf*, the organisation helps in the construction of mosques and the study of the *Quran*, the organisation is affiliated to key Muslim organisations.

Second, it attempts to utilize its aid for development purposes by carrying out three initiatives: 1) it attempts the practice of accountability in terms of financial transaction, donations, budget and use of funds. Under these terms, they emphasise their

relationships with globally recognised auditing and accounting authorities.2) It sets-up the organisation's humanitarian assistance programme. The programme coordinates with international relief organisations and institutions in the field of emergency relief operations. 3) An important step of the organisation is to link its programme with the UNDP and it continues its social development programmes in a number of states (Ghandour, 2004, p. 331). Despite these efforts, IIROSA never seeks funding from the UN and other major international development organisations because it wishes to maintain its independent religious vision. On the other hand, IIROSA helps various specialized agencies of the UN in their tasks in the countries where it has its branch offices. For instance, it assists missions by the WHO, UNICEF and UNRWA's work in Palestine.

Past studies in the context of Transnational Islamic Charities have qualitatively assessed the status and position of charities by emphasising their political roles in financially assisting militant groups and terrorist networks (Petersen, 2011, p. 20). On the contrary, by employing the Social Movement Theory and the religion-development nexus, this study has explored the role of Transnational Islamic Charities in the fields of social development and humanitarian assistance. Thus, the thesis makes three key contributions in the understanding of Transnational Islamic charities role and position in the society.

Firstly, the major contribution this research offers is that it has established a pathway for researchers regarding Transnational Islamic Charities by reflecting on the various theoretical concepts such as 'social movement theory', 'social development', 'humanitarian assistance' and 'religious radicalization' used for assessing the position and status of a transitional Islamic charity in Pakistani society. Thus, this research has explored the status and position of Islamic charities through empirical research and micro-social analysis using some new parameters rather than using already established indices/indicators. Secondly, the major contribution of the thesis is the exploration of multiple social fields like social welfare projects and humanitarian assistance projects, which influence the role of Islamic charities. Thus, the thesis has explored the various interconnecting factors to evaluate the contributions of Transnational Islamic Charities. Thirdly, this thesis has attempted to give a new perspective in exploring the religious contributions of transnational Islamic charities in the post 9/11 era. Thereby, this research investigates the contributions of IIROSA in Pakistan, which display a

distinction between religious radicalization and social services within the parameters of religious doctrine.

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APPENDIX: TABLES

Table 1: Membership of IIROSA in the International and Regional Organisations

S. No.	Name of the Organisation	Year of Membership
1	Constituent Member of the International Islamic Council for Da'wa and Relief (IICDR); 1408H	1988
2	Member of the Presiding Committee of IICDR; 1408H	1988
3	Member of some Permanent Committees of IICDR: Education & Da'wa, Information & Watch, Media & Publishing, Youth, Africa, Al-Quds & Palestine, Thought & Theology, and International Islamic Committee for Woman	1988
4	Observer Member of the Islamic Da'wa Organisation, Sudan; 1410H	1989
5	Member of the Committee for the Coordination of Joint Islamic Action of OIC; 1411H	1990
6	Observer Member of OIC, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; 1411H	1990
7	Member of UN ECOSOC; 1415H	1995
8	Member of the Arab Council for Childhood and Development (ACCD); 1420H	2000
9	Member of Arab Network for NGOs, Egypt; 1422H	2002
10	Member of the General Assembly of Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations (CONGO) and elected twice for the membership of its Board of Directors in 1423H and 1428H	2003 2007
11	Member of Arab Network for Gulf NGOs, Qatar; 1425H (2004).	2004
12	Observer Member of International Organisation for Migration (IOM); it was the first Islamic NGO to gain this membership	2005
13	Founding Member of the Union of NGOs of the Islamic World (UNIW), Turkey; 1426H	2006
14	Founding Member of the Union of World Organisation for Relief in Iraq, Turkey; 1426H (2006)	2006
15	Founding Member of International Bureau of Humanitarian NGOs (IBH), France; 1428H	2007

16	Founding Member of the International Islamic Forum of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC); 1429H	2008
17	Member of the UN Department of Public Information (DPI), 1431H	2010

Source:

https://web.archive.org/web/20161220060415/http://www.egatha.org/eportal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12&Itemid=4

Table 2: International Cooperation and Partnerships of IIROSA

S. No.	Name of the Organisation
1	Cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Saudi Arabia, Tanzania, Kenya, Mali and Afghanistan.
2	Cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO): Distribution of food assistance to displaced people because of war in Sierra Leone, 1977
3	Cooperation with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Iraq and Saudi Arabia
4	Cooperation with World Health Organisation (WHO): in Afghanistan, Egypt, Jordan, Pakistan, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia and Yemen
5	Two cooperation agreements with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in education, health, accommodation as well as supplying medical equipment to Al Shaboura Medical Centre in Gaza, June, 2010.
6	Cooperation with the German HELP Organisation in the following countries: Somalia, Azerbaijan, Iraq (Kurdistan) and Bangladesh.
7	Cooperation with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in health, relief and development projects in Palestine. Such cooperation created employment opportunities for thousands of unemployed Palestinians in 1429H (2008).
8	Cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in curricular, education and experience exchange.
10	Cooperation with the American Global Vision Organisation: Preparation of residential buildings of the repatriation camp (2) in Sumqayit, Azerbaijan, 1414H (1994).

11	Cooperation with the International Relief & Development organisation (IRD): Provision of clothes and blankets for the displaced people in Azerbaijan, 1414H (1994).
12	Cooperation with the American CAIR organisation: Building a centre for food distribution in Sierra Leone.
13	Cooperation with the Arab Red Crescent & Red Cross Organisation in training and experience exchange.
14	Cooperation with the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (ISESCO) in curricular, education and experience exchange.
15	Participation in the World Bank conference, Chad
16	Cooperation with the Islamic Sheikhdome in Bosnia-Herzegovina through which IIROSA supplies development projects and programs to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, June, 2009.
17	Memorandum of understanding with the Union Arabic Research Council to strengthen and develop cooperation, September, 2009.
18	Cooperation with the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), for providing medical, social, educational, developmental and Da'wa assistance, October, 2009.
19	Cooperation with the Islamic Sheikhdome in Serbia through which IIROSA supplies development projects and programs to the people of Serbia, January, 2010.
20	Memorandum of understanding with the Palestinian Authority Government for preparation and implementation of relief, developmental, educational, cultural and health projects, as well as building human capacities in the Palestinian Territories, June, 2010.
21	The Board of Directors approved in its meeting No. M-197-24-32, dated 28/03/1432H, corresponding to 03/03/2011 concluding a cooperation agreement with the World Health Organisation (WHO) for organizing an International Conference on Nutrition, where IIROSA will contribute 120 thousand American Dollars
22	The Board of Directors approved in its meeting No. M-197-24-32, dated 28/03/1432H, corresponding to 03/03/2011 concluding a cooperation agreement with the World Health
23	Organisation (WHO) for fighting blindness in Afghanistan, where IIROSA will contribute 278 thousand American Dollars
24	The Board of Directors approved in its meeting No. M-198-24-32, dated 28/03/1432H, corresponding to 03/03/2011 concluding a cooperation agreement with Makkah Orphans Care Society, in support of the Society objectives to serve

	the community.
25	The Board of Directors approved in its meeting No. M-198-24-32, dated 28/03/1432H, corresponding to 03/03/2011 concluding a cooperation agreement with the AIDS Patients Society in Jeddah, in support of the objectives of community service societies
26	The Board of Directors approved in its meeting No. M-199-24-32, dated 28/03/1432H, corresponding to 03/03/2011 organizing an international conference in Geneva, under IIROSA auspices, titled "Immigration and its social, economic, health, psychological, cultural, and security impact, as well as, human rights.

Source:

https://web.archive.org/web/20161220060415/http://www.egatha.org/eportal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=12&Itemid=4

Table 3: IIROSA's Interventions/Activities in Region-wise Countries

S. No.	Region	Countries
01	Middle East Asia	Saudi Arabia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Lebanon
02	South & East Asia	Afghanistan, Pakistan India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, China, Thailand, Philippines
03	Africa	Uganda, Chad, Tanzania, Comoros- South Africa, Lestho, Sudan, Mozambique, Benin, Dijibouti, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Guinea, Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia- Togo, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Egypt, Mauritania, Niger
04	Europe	Germany, Switzerland, Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo
05	South America	Brazil

Source:

https://web.archive.org/web/20161125040224/http://www.egatha.org/pdf/annualreport/irosa_annualreport_3233_en.pdf

Table 4: Number of Registered and Beneficiaries orphans in the Affiliated Institutions of IIROSA Islamabad

Name of the Organisation	No. of registered students with IIROSA in 2016	No. of Beneficiaries in the year 2016
SOS Village, Rawalpindi	33	24
Faizul Islam, Rawalpindi	200	88
Siratul Jannah, Murree	166	51
Al-Markaz Islami Bannu	321	219
Dar ul Uloom Baltistan	493	456
Baitul Mal (Orphans staying-home policy)	100	94
Total	1313	932

Source: Office documents of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 5: Relief Goods Distributed by IIRSOA, Islamabad in the Earthquake 2005

Sr. No.	Description of Items	No. Of Items	Location/Place/District
01	Food Packets (27 Kg each)	9340 packets	Muzafarabad, Bagh District of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Batal, Jabori, Gulkhalasi, Ugi, Batgaram,, Gari Habibullah and Balakot of District Mansehra
02	Atta (40 Kg each)	3645 packets	
03	Water	650 cartons	
04	Tents	4428	
05	Kaffan cloth	1500 sheets	
06	Blankets	20869	
07	Plastic Role	181	
08	Plastic Sheets	1215	
09	GC. Sheets	2000	
10	Mixed items (Dates, Rice, Lantin, sugar, tea)		

Source: Annual Report-2006 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 6: Tent Villages Organised by HIROSA Islamabad in the Earthquake 2005

S. No.	District	Name of Village	No. of Tents	No. of Beneficiaries
1	Muzfargarh	Kund Bandway	50	350
2		Majoi	70	350
3		Majoi East	50	300
4		Shahdara/ Hatian Bala	200	1100
5		Patika	200	1125
6		Karian/ Muzafarabad	325	1950
7	Bagh, Azad Jammu & Kashmir	Holdar	41	212
8		Bani Pasari Holdar	65	374
9		Koteri, Bani Pasari	22	126
10		Uppar Koteri	20	102
11		Uppar Koteri	16	60
12		Uppar Tegat (A)	40	219
13		Tangiat (B)	31	165
14		Uppar Seri	17	83
15		Seri	21	129
16		Roshan pur, Uppar Seri	26	187
17		Makhdoom Kot	36	170
18		Bani Maldar	24	146
19		Cheran (A)	16	105
20		Cheran (B)	14	71
21		Tangiat (C)	12	72
22		Samni	25	141
24	Mansehra	Hassa, Balakot	400	2000
25		Jabba, Balakot	700	4000

26	Jandar Banda	150	900
27	Ichrian	100	575
28	Baffa	150	900
29	Baghar, Mang, Dadar	130	780
Total		2971	16847

Source: Annual Report-2006 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 7: Emergency Relief of HIROSA Islamabad in 2006 to the victims of Earthquake 2005

Sr. No.	Place of distribution	No. Of Trucks
1	Bagh	19
4	Rawalakot	1
5	Muzafarabad	11
7	Patika	5
9	Chaman Kot, Dheer kot	1
10	Batgram	2
11	Alai	3
12	Balakot	2
13	Karlat	1
14	Sat Pani	1
15	Khanoul	1
16	Shawal Muzullah	1
17	Shawal Najaf Khan	1
18	Tarhana	1
19	Karnool	1

20	Hangharwai	1
21	Kowai	1
22	Mahandri	1
23	Jabar	1
24	Sajjan	1
25	Jabori	1
26	Bakarmand	1
27	Shankayri	1
28	Acharian	1
29	Batal	1
30	Chattar Plain	1
31	Khatai Ogi	1
32	Kala Dhaka	3
33	Oggi	3
34	Mank	1
Total Trucks		70

Source: Annual Report-200 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 8: Emergency Relief of IIROSA Islamabad in August 2007 against the Cyclone Yemini and floods in Pakistan

Place of Distribution	No. of Tents	No. of Quilts	No. of Blankets	No. of Food
Panjgour	300	200	200	200
Kalat	-	350	200	500
Pasheen	-	200	400	500
Kharan	200	800	400	950
Khuzdar/Naal	300	800	450	950
Regi/Peshawar	-	100	450	500
Khyber Agency	-	200	300	500
Sher Garh	-	-	-	600
Dir	-	350	200	200
Total	800	3000	2600	5200

Source: Annual Report-2008 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 9: Emergency Relief of IIROSA Islamabad and Beneficiaries in November 2007 against Cyclone Yemini and Floods in Pakistan

Area	Villages of Area	Non-Food Items (Tents, Quilts, Sheets, Tarpaulins, Heaters)	Food Items	Beneficiaries/ Families
Noshki	Kali Gharib Abad		125	250
	Kili Fiqiran		125	250
	Kaisangi		125	250
	Kili Asian		125	250
Dalbadin	Dawood Abad		125	250
	Kili Noor Mohammad		125	250
	Sargrasha Gardi		125	250
	Kili Gorgach		125	250
Kharan	Jangle No. 1	250	150	300
	Notani	250	150	300
	Kotan	250	150	300
	Nali/Taghap	250	150	300
	Taghazi	250	150	300
Naal	Garesha - 1	500	250	500
	Garesha - 2	500	250	500
	Naal	250	250	500
Panjgoor	Sorab	250	200	400
	Pelko	250	200	400
	Koh Sabaz	250	200	400
	Tasb	125	100	200
	PanjChee	125	100	200

	Bar Sooli	125	100	200
	Soor Cheel	125	100	200
	Panjgoor	0	250	500
	Nodez	125	100	200
	Solband	125	100	200
	Naseerabad	125	100	200
	Gordaz	125	100	200
	Dannuk	125	100	200
	Kosh Qalat	125	100	200
	Absar	125	100	200
	Turbat	125	350	700
	Bahman	125	100	200
Turbat	Godi	125	100	200
Total		5000	5000	10000

Source: Annual Report-2008 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

**Table 10: Province-wise Beneficiaries of Emergency Relief of IIROSA Islamabad
During Flood 2010**

Province	Place of Distribution	Beneficiaries/ Families
Punjab	Karoor/Laya	800
	Dera Ghazi Khan/Tounsa	600
	Kot Addu/Dera Din Panah	600
	Rajin Pur/Fzil Pur	1200
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Noshehra/Pabbi	1200
	Charsada/Maju	600
	Jalala/Barkho	600
	Mansehra	1200
	Batgaram/Batal	400
	Baagh/ Azad Jammu & Kashmir	600
Sindh	Thari Mirwah/Khairpur	3000
	Arroo Burgari/ Umar Kot	1500
	Umar Kot	2000
	Judo Bago/Tharparkar	750
	Mithi/Tharparkar	750
Total		15800

Source: Annual Report-2011-2012 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 11: Emergency Relief of IIROSA Islamabad for the Victims of Flood-2011

Distribution Place	No. of Bags (Rice 10 Kg)	No. of Quilts
Dera Ghazi Khan	1000	1000
Rajanpur	1000	1000
Balakot	1250	1250
Athmuqam	12501	12501
Dera Ismail Khan	1250	1250
Islamabad	250	250

Source: Annual Report-2011-202 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 12: Distribution of Food and Daily Use Items from IIROSA Islamabad in Bajur 2008

Distribution place	Tents	Food Items	Quilts
Benazir Camp Risalpur	-	500	500
Sheikh Yasin Camp Mardan	-	600	600
Palosai Charsadda	-	500	500
Kacha Gari Camp Peshawar	400	1400	1400
Directorate of Social Welfare, Peshawar	335	335	335
Swabi	200	1300	1300
IDP of Rawalpindi	165	365	365
Total	1100	5000	5000

Source: Annual Report-2009 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 13: Detailed Distribution Plan to IDPs 2009-2010 from IIROSA Islamabad

Distribution Places	Food Boxes	Water Coolers	Plastic Mats
IDPs in Takht Bai/Mardan	600	600	600
IDPs in Jalala Camp	800	800	800
IDPs in Hatian	1000	1000	1000
IDPs in Sher Garh	400	400	400
IDPs in Rawalpindi, Islamabad	410	410	410
IDPs in Col Sher Kalay, Swabi	400	400	400
IDPS in Janda, Sawabi	200	200	200
IDPs in Margoz, Swabi	200	200	200
IDPs in Peshawar	200	200	200
IDPs, in Haripur	400	400	400
IDPs in Mansehra	400	400	400
IDPs in Mardan Schools	400	400	400
IDPs in Sawabi Schools	200	200	200
IDPs in Bahara Kaho Camp	400	400	400
Total	6010	6010	6010

Source: Annual Report-2011-2012 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 14: Food Item Distribution under Iftar al-Saim Project (2003-2013) from IIROSA Islamabad

Year	Place of Distribution	Amount (in Pak rupees)	Beneficiary families
2003	Islamabad, Rawalpindi, AJK	250,000.00	5957
2004	Afghan Refugees camps In Haripur and Islamabad	Not available	Not available
2005	KPK and AJK		Not available
2006	KPK and AJK		Not available
2007	earthquake-affected area of NWFP and Neelum Valley, Muzaffarabad, District Bagh	2,686,000.00	2400 families
2008	Swabi, NWFP, Bajour Agency	3,315,000.00	Not available
2009	Bagh, Soden Gali and Muzaffarabad of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Districts Haitian, Mardan, Peshawar, Baharakaho, Islamabad, Swat and Malakand Districts	8,658,000.00	Not available
2011			Not available
2012	AJK	10,26.00	Not available
2013	KPK, Punjab & AJK	21,200,000.00	Not available

Source: Annual Report-2004-2014 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad

Table 15: Qurbani Provisions Available at HIROSA Islamabad (2003-2012)

Year	Place of Distribution	No. of Animals			Amount (in Pak rupees)	Beneficiaries families
		Cows	Lambs	Goats		
2003	Pakistan and AJK	137	417	-	3,700,000.00	9454
2004	Pakistan and AJK	191	739	257	8,150,000.00	Not available
2005	Pakistan and AJK	346	544	-	7,849,835.00	Not available
2006	Earthquake areas of KPK and AJK	468	161	-	9,587,855.00	Not available
2007	Earthquake areas of KPK and AJK	537	528	-	13,573,636.00	33,136
2008	Pakistan and AJK	149		-	6,500,000.00	Not available
2009	Pakistan and AJK	200		-	9,000,000.00	Not available
2011	Not on the record	135		-	Not available	5400
2012	Pakistan and AJK	317		-	2,300,000.00	Not available
Total						

Source: Annual Report-2004-2014 of International Islamic Relief Organisation, Islamabad